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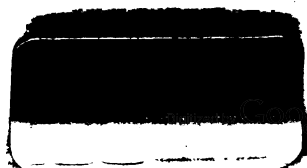
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25/12 2005

A
COLLECTION
OF SEVERAL
P I E C E S

O F
Mr. JOHN TOLAND,

Now first publish'd from his Original
Manuscripts :

WITH
Some MEMOIRS *of his* LIFE *and*
WRITINGS.

VOLUME I.



L O N D O N :

Printed for J. PEELE, at *Locke's Head* in
Pater-noster Row. M. DCC. XXVI.





SOME
MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
Mr. JOHN TOLAND:
IN A
LETTER
TO
S * * * B * * * L * * *.

May 26th 1722.

SIR,



WHEN, in the course of our Correspondence, I sent you the news of Mr. TOLAND's Death, I little expected you wou'd ask me for an Account of his Life; and therefore in my next Letter, I desir'd you to consider

* A 2

that

that I was every way unqualified for a work of that nature : but your answer was, that, as you conceiv'd the Life of an Author chiefly consisted in the History of his Books and Disputes, with which any one might easily make himself acquainted ; you did not require more of me than I could perform. This made me suspect, that you intended to try, whether my readiness to oblige you, was answerable to the several marks of friendship I had received from you ; and therefore, without any further consideration, I resolv'd to comply with your request. But when I came to the performance, I found it so difficult to meet with proper materials, that I thought I shou'd have been oblig'd, either to drop my design, or to send you a most confus'd and imperfect account : the former of which, you might have imagin'd to proceed from my want of respect for you ; and the latter, to be an effect of my negligence. But it happen'd, by the greatest accident in the world, that I fell into the company of a Gentleman, who had been intimately acquainted with Mr. TOLAND, and who very generously communicated to me several particulars concerning him. These have been of great use to me in compiling the following MEMOIRS, which, I hope, will afford you some entertainment.

Mr. TOLAND was born on the 30th of November 1670, in the most northern Peninsula

sula in Ireland, in the Isthmus whereof stands Londonderry. That Peninsula was originally called *Inis-Eogan*, or *Inis Eogain*, but is now call'd *Inisfoen*, or *Enis-owen*. He had the Name of JANUS JUNIUS given him at the font, and was call'd by that name in the school-roll every morning: but the other boys making a jest of it, the Master himself order'd him to be call'd JOHN for the future; which name he kept ever after.

I can give you no particular account of his Parentage. Some have affirm'd that his Father was a Popish Priest; and he hath been abused by Abbot TILLADET (1), Bishop HUETIUS (2), and others, upon the account of his pretended illegitimacy: which, were it true, is a most bale and ridiculous reproach; the Child, in such a case, being intirely innocent of the guilt of his Parents. But no Popish Writer will, I presume, asperse him in that respect for the future, when they have seen the Testimonial, which was given him in the year 1708, by the Irish Franciscans of Prague, where he happen'd to be at that time. It runs thus:

*Infra-scripti testamur Dom. JOANNEM
TOLAND ortum esse ex honesta, nobili, &
antiquissima Familia, quæ per plures cente-
* A 3 nos*

(1) Preface des *Dissertations* de Mr. Huet sur diverses matieres de Religion & de Philologie, §. v.

(2) *Commentarius de rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, pag. 412.

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nos annos, ut Regni Historia & continua monstrant memoria, in Peninsula Hiberniæ Enis-Oën dictâ, prope urbem Londino-Derensem in Ultonia, perduravit. In cujus rei firmiorem fidem, nos ex eadem Patria oriundi propriis manibus subscripsimus, Pragæ in Bohemia, hac die 2 Jan. 1708.

JOANNES O NEILL, Superior Collegii
Hibernorum.

L. S. FRANCISCUS O DEULIN, S. Theologiæ Professor.

RUDOLPHUS Ô NEILL, S. Theol.
Lector.

THESE honest Friars, you see, do certify under their hands and seal, that Mr. TOLAND was descended from an honourable, noble, and most ancient Family, recorded in the History of Ireland for several hundred years.

HOWEVER, we may take it for granted, that his Relations were Papists: for he himself tells us, that he was "educated (3) " from his cradle in the grossest Superstition " and Idolatry, but God was pleas'd to make " his own Reason, and such as made use of " theirs, the happy instruments of his Conversion:" for " he was not sixteen years " old

(3) Preface to *Christianity not mysterious*, p. m. viii. ix.

“ old when he became (4) as zealous against
 “ Popery, as he hath ever since continued.

FROM the School at “ Redcastle near
 “ Londonderry, he went in 1687 to the
 “ College of Glascow in Scotland:” and af-
 ter three years stay there, he visited the Uni-
 versity of Edinburg, where he was created
 Master of Arts, on the 30th of June 1690,
 and receiv'd the usual Diploma or Certificate
 from the Professors. Here is a Copy of it.

UNIVERSIS & singulis ad quos præsentēs
Literæ pervenient, Nos Universitatis Jacobi
 Regis Edinburgensæ Professores, salutem in
 Domino sempiternam comprecamur: UNA-
 QUE testamur ingenuum hunc bonæ spei Ju-
 venem Magistrum JOANNEM TOLAND Hi-
 bernum, moribus, diligentia, & laudabili suc-
 cessu se nobis ita approbasse, ut post edi-
 tum Philosophici profectus examen, solenni
 more Magister in Artibus Liberalibus renun-
 ciaretur, in Comitibus nostris Laureatis anno
 salutis millesimo, sexcentesimo & nonagesimo,
 trigesimo die Junii: Quapropter non dubita-
 mus eum nunc à Nobis in Patriam redeun-
 tem, ut egregium Adolescentem, omnibus quas
 adire vel quibuscum versari contigerit de me-
 liori nota commendare, sperantes illum (opi-
 tulante divina gratia) Literis hisce Testi-
 monialibus fore abunde responsurum. In quo-
 rum

* A 4

(4) *An Apology for Mr. Toland*, Lond. 1697, p. 16.

rum fidem inclyta Civitas Edinburgum Academia hujus Parens & Altrix, sigillo suo publico Literas syngraphis nostris porro confirmari jussit.

Dabamus in supradicto Athenæo Regio 22^{da} die Julii anno Æræ Christianæ 1690.

AL. MONRO, S. S. T. D.
Professor primarius.

JO. STRAHAN, S. S. T. D.
ejusdemque Professor.

D. GREGORIE, Math. P.

J. HERBERTUS KENNEDY,
P. P.

L. S.

J. DRUMMOND, H. L. P.

THO: BURNET, Ph. P.

ROBERTUS HENDERSON,
B. & Academiae ab
Archivis, &c.

Mr. TOLAND having receiv'd his Diploma, went back to Glasgow, where he made but a short stay. Upon his departure from it, the Magistrates of that City gave him the following recommendatory Letters :

“ WE the Magistrats of Glasgow under-
“ subscribeing, do hereby testifie and declare
“ to all whom these presents may concern,
“ That the bearer JOHN TOLLAND, Master of
“ Arts,

“ Arts did reside here for some yeares as a
 “ Student at the Univerſitie in this Citie, du-
 “ ring which tyme he behaved himſelf as ane
 “ trew Proteſtant and Loyal Subject ; as witneſs
 “ our hands at Glaſcow the penult day of
 “ July one thouſand ſex hundreth and ninetic
 “ yeares. And the common Seale of Office
 “ of the ſaid Citie is hereunto affixt.

JOHN LECKE.

L. S.

GEORGE NISBITT.

FROM Scotland, Mr. TOLAND intended to have return'd into Ireland, as it appears by the Certificate of the Univerſity of Edinburgh : but he alter'd his mind, and came into England, “ where he liv'd (5) in as good
 “ Proteſtant Families as any in the Kingdom,
 “ till he went to the famous Univerſity of
 “ Leiden in Holland to perfect his Studies,”
 under the celebrated SPANHEMIUS, TRIGLANDIUS, &c. There he was generously ſupported and maintain'd by ſome eminent Diſſenters in England, who had conceiv'd great hopes from his uncommon parts, and might flatter themſelves that, in time, he wou'd be ſerviceable to them in the quality of a Miniſter. For he had liv'd in their communion ever ſince he forſook Popery ; as he owns himſelf in a Pamphlet printed in the year 1697. “ Mr. Tol-
 “ LAND,

(5) *Apology*, p. 17.

X THE LIFE OF

“ LAND, (says he (6) in answer to the imputa-
 “ tion of being a rigid *Nonconformist*), will
 “ never deny but the real simplicity of the
 “ Dissenters Worship, and the seeming equi-
 “ ty of their Discipline (into which being so
 “ young he could not distinctly penetrate) did
 “ gain extraordinarily upon his affections, just
 “ as he was newly deliver’d from the insup-
 “ portable yoke of the most pompous and ty-
 “ rannical Policy that ever enslaved mankind
 “ under the name or shew of Religion. But
 “ when greater experience and more years
 “ had a little ripen’d his judgment, he easily
 “ perceiv’d that the Differences were not so
 “ wide as to appear irreconcilable, or at least,
 “ that men who were sound Protestants on
 “ both sides, should barbarously cut one ano-
 “ thers throats, or indeed give any disturbance
 “ to the society about them. And as soon as
 “ he understood the late heats and animosi-
 “ ties did not totally (if at all) proceed from
 “ a concern for mere Religion, he allowed
 “ himself a latitude in several things, that
 “ would have been matter of scruple to him
 “ before. His travels increas’d, and the study
 “ of Ecclesiastical History perfected this dispo-
 “ sition, wherein he continues to this hour:
 “ for, whatever his own opinion of those
 “ Differences be, yet he finds so essential an
 “ Agreement between the French, Dutch,
 “ English, Scotch, and other Protestants, that
 “ he’s

(6) *Apology*, p. 18, 19.

“ he’s resolv’d never to lose the benefit of
 “ an instructive Discourse in any of their
 “ Churches upon that score; and it must be a
 “ civil not a religious interest that can engage
 “ him against any of these Parties, not think-
 “ ing all their private notions wherein they
 “ disagree worth endangering, much less sub-
 “ verting, the publick Peace of a Nation. If
 “ this, *pursues he*, makes a man a Noncon-
 “ formist, then Mr. TOLAND is one unques-
 “ tionably.

I N the year 1692, Mr. DANIEL WIL-
 LIAMS, a Dissenting Minister, having publish’d
 a Book intitled: *Gospel Truth stated and
 vindicated; wherein some of Dr. CRISP’S
 Opinions are considered, and the opposite truths
 are plainly stated and confirm’d*; Mr. TOLAND
 sent it to the Author of the *Bibliothèque Uni-
 verselle*, and desir’d him to give an Abstract
 of it in that Journal: at the same time, he
 related to him the History of that Book, and
 of the Controversy it referr’d to. The Jour-
 nalist comply’d with his request; and to the
 Abstract of Mr. WILLIAMS’S Book, he prefix’d
 the Letter he had receiv’d from Mr. T O-
 LAND, whom he styles *Student in Divi-
 nity* (7).

AFTER having sojourn’d about two years
 at Leiden, he came back into England; and
 soon

(7) *Bibliothèque Universelle*, Tom. xxiii. p. 505.

soon after went to Oxford ; where besides the Conversation of learned Men, who have never been wanting in that famous University, he had the advantage of the publick Library. He collected materials upon various subjects, and compos'd some Pieces; among others a *Dissertation wherein he proves the receiv'd History of the tragical Death of Atilius Regulus, the Roman Consul, to be a fable* (8). And here he begun to shew his inclination for Paradoxes, and the pleasure he took in opposing traditional and commonly receiv'd Opinions: which humour is often beneficial to the Public, as it promotes the discovery of truth, which seldom or never suffers by a free examination. Mr. TOLAND owns himself indebted for this notion to PALMERIUS: who has examin'd that subject, in his *Observations on several Greek Authors* (9). If the ingenious Abbé de VERTOT had seen that learned and judicious performance of PALMERIUS, he wou'd not have related, as a fact, the tragical Death of that Consul, in his *Revolutions of the Roman Republick*; but have look'd upon it as a Romance.

THE same byas for Paradoxes, put Mr. TOLAND upon another Work of greater consequence: he undertook to prove that there are
no

(8) That Dissertation you'll find in this *Collection*. Vol. II. pag. 18.

(9) *Observationes in optimos fere Autores Græcos*. pag. 147, 151, & seqq.

no *Mysteries* in the Christian Religion. But he left Oxford in 1695, before that Book was finish'd; and came to London, where he publish'd it the next year, under the title of *Christianity not Mysteriorious: or, a Treatise shewing, that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to Reason, nor above it: and that no Christian Doctrine can be properly call'd a Mystery.*

T O affirm that the Christian Religion has no *Mysteries*, or nothing *above Reason*, must indeed appear a strange Paradox: but as we ought not to be prejudiced or frighten'd with words, let us examine our Author's intent and meaning.

T H E word *Mystery*, says he, is always us'd in the New Testament for *a thing intelligible in itself, but which could not be known without special Revelation.* And to prove that assertion, he examines all the passages of the New Testament where the word *Mystery* occurs; and shews, first, that *Mystery* is read for the Gospel or the Christian Religion in general, as it was a future dispensation totally hid from the Gentiles, and but very imperfectly known to the Jews: secondly, that some peculiar Doctrines occasionally reveal'd by the Apostles, are said to be *manifested Mysteries*, that is, unfolded secrets: and thirdly, that *Mystery* is put for any thing vail'd under parables, or enigmatical forms of speech.

AND

AND to set this matter in a clearer light, he observes, that as in the phenomena of Nature, we neither call *Mysteries* those things which are perfectly unknown to us, nor those whereof we can have no adequate idea ; the same way of speaking ought to be used in religious matters; since all the reveal'd truths of the Christian Religion, which it is necessary and beneficial for us to know, can be made as clear and intelligible as natural things which come within our knowledge and comprehension : and that the case is parallel , he promis'd to shew in another work, and to give *a particular and rational Explanation of the reputed Mysteries of the Gospel*. But he declares, at the same time, that if his Adversaries think fit to call a *Mystery*, whatever is either absolutely unintelligible to us, or whereof we have but inadequate ideas ; he is ready to admit as many *Mysteries* in Religion as they please.

SO far, you'll say, SIR, there is no great harm done : it is only a dispute about words. Indeed he pretends that he can give as clear and intelligible an explanation of the Mysteries of the Gospel, as 'tis possible to give of the phenomena of Nature : but do not our Divines do the same thing, in attempting to give a rational explanation of the Trinity, the greatest Mystery of the Christian Religion? Such explanations are the test of the soundness of their Doctrine : and who knows but

but Mr. TOLAND's explanation, had he given one, might have been orthodox?

IT had been happy for Mr. TOLAND, if every body had entertained the same favourable sentiments of this work, as you do. But it prov'd otherwise. His Treatise alarm'd the Public, and several Books came out against it. Mr. BECONSALL publish'd, *The Christian Belief: wherein is asserted and proved, That as there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to Reason, yet there are some Doctrines in it above Reason; and these being necessarily enjoyn'd us to believe, are properly call'd Mysteries; in Answer to a Book intituled, Christianity not Mysteriorious.* Mr. BEVERLEY, a Presbyterian Minister, put out a Pamphlet intituled, *Christianity the great Mystery: in Answer to a late Treatise, Christianity not Mysteriorious; that is, not above, nor contrary to Reason. In opposition to which is asserted, Christianity is above created Reason, in its pure estate; and contrary to human Reason, as fallen and corrupted; and therefore in a proper sense Mystery. Together with a Postscript Letter to the Author, on his second edition enlarged.* It was also animadverted upon by Mr. NORRIS, in his *Account of Reason and Faith in relation to the Mysteries of Christianity*: by Mr. ELYS in his *Letter to Sir ROBERT HOWARD, with Animadversions upon a Book, called, Christianity not Mysteriorious*: by Dr. PAYNE, in some *Sermons preach'd at Cambridge*: by Dr. STIL-

LING-

LINGFLEET, Bishop of Worcester, in his *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, &c: by the Author of the *Occasional Paper*, Numb. III: by Mr. MILLER, in his *Discourse of Conscience*, &c: by Mr. GAILHARD, in his Book against the Socinians: by Mr. SYNGE in his *Appendix to the Gentleman's Religion*; &c. It was even presented by the Grand Jury of Middlesex: but those Presentments have seldom any other effect than to make a Book sell the better, by publishing it thus to the World, and tempting the Curiosity of Men, who are naturally inclin'd to pry into what is forbidden them.

Mr. TOLAND publish'd the same Year, *A Discourse upon Coins by Signor BERNARDO DAVANZATI, a Gentleman of Florence; being publicly spoken in the Academy there, anno 1588. Translated out of Italian, by JOHN TOLAND*. In the Preface, Mr. TOLAND observes that Signor DAVANZATI, was every way qualified to perform his undertaking, being famous for natural and acquir'd parts, not only conversant in Trade, and one of the best Arithmeticians of his time; but likewise an able Politician, as appears by his admir'd Translation of TACITUS, and his own Original Compositions. Mr. TOLAND judg'd it proper to publish his *Discourse upon Coins* at a time, when the clipping of Money was become a National grievance, and several Methods were propos'd to remedy that evil.

His

HIS *Christianity not Mysteriorus* being sent into Ireland, by the London Booksellers, you may easily imagine it made no less noise there than in England: but the clamour was much encreased, when he went thither himself towards the beginning of the year 1697.

“ IN my last to you, says Mr. MOLYNEUX
 “ *in one of his Letters to Mr. LOCKE* (10),
 “ there was a passage relating to the Author
 “ of *Christianity not Mysteriorus*. I did not
 “ then think that he was so near me, as
 “ within the bounds of this City; but I find
 “ since that he is come over hither, and have
 “ had the favour of a visit from him
 “ I propose a great deal of satisfaction in his
 “ Conversation; I take him to be a candid
 “ Free-Thinker, and a good Scholar. But
 “ there is a violent sort of spirit reigns here,
 “ which begins already to shew itself against
 “ him; and I believe, will increase daily; for
 “ I find the Clergy alarmed to a mighty de-
 “ gree against him. And last Sunday he had
 “ his welcome to this City, by hearing him-
 “ self harangued against, out of the Pulpit,
 “ by a Prelate of this Country.”

Mr. TOLAND himself tells us, that “ he was
 “ (11) scarcely arriv’d in that Country, when
 * B “ he

(10) April 6, 1697.

(11) *Apology*, &c. p. 4.

“ he found himself warmly attack’d from
 “ the Pulpit, which at the beginning could
 “ not but startle the people, who till then
 “ were equal strangers to him and his Book ;
 “ yet they became in a little time so well
 “ accustom’d to this subject, that it was as
 “ much expected of course as if it had been
 “ prescrib’d in the Rubrick.”

HIS indiscreet behaviour did not a little contribute to exasperate them against him.
 “ To be free, and without reserve to you,
 “ *says Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE* (12),
 “ I do not think his Management, since he
 “ came into this City, has been so prudent.
 “ He has rais’d against him the clamours of
 “ all parties ; and this, not so much by his
 “ Difference in Opinion, as by his unseason-
 “ able way of discoursing, propagating and
 “ maintaining it. Coffee-houses, and pub-
 “ lic Tables, are not proper places for se-
 “ rious discourses relating to the most impor-
 “ tant truths. But when also a Tincture of
 “ Vanity appears in the whole course of a
 “ man’s Conversation, it disgusts many, that
 “ may otherwise have a due value for his
 “ Parts and Learning.”

Mr. TOLAND indeed gives us a different account of himself: he says, that “ so far (13)
 “ was

(12) May 27, 1697.

(13) *Apology*, p. 6.

“ was he from making his Opinions the sub-
 “ ject of his common talk, that, notwith-
 “ standing repeated provocations, he pur-
 “ posely declin’d speaking of ’em at all ;
 “ which made his Adversaries (who slipt no
 “ handle of decrying him) insinuate, that he
 “ was not the real Author of the Piece going
 “ under his name.

HOWEVER it be, “ when (14) this
 “ rough handling of him in the Pulpit (where
 “ he could not have word about) prov’d in-
 “ significant, the Grand Jury was solicited to
 “ present him for a Book that was written
 “ and published in England. And to gain
 “ the readier compliance, the Presentment of
 “ the Grand Jury of Middlesex was printed
 “ in Dublin with an emphatical Title, and
 “ cry’d about the streets. So Mr. TOLAND
 “ was accordingly presented there the last day
 “ of the Term in the Court of King’s-Bench,
 “ the Jurors not grounding their proceeding
 “ upon any particular Passages of his Book,
 “ which most of ’em never read, and those
 “ that did confess’d not to understand.

AT that time, Mr. PETER BROWN, senior
 Fellow of Trinity College near Dublin, pub-
 lish’d a Book against Mr. TOLAND, call’d,
A Letter in Answer to a Book, entituled,
Christianity not Mysterious: as also to all

* B 2

those

those who set up for Reason and Evidence in opposition to Revelation and Mystery. This Letter contributed very much to enflame all sorts of people against Mr. TOLAND. Mr. BROWN represented him as *a most inveterate enemy to all reveal'd Religion; a Knight-errant; one who openly affected to be the Head of a Sect, and design'd to be as famous an Impostor as Mahomet:* but being sensible that all these suggestions cou'd not hurt his person, he did, as much as in him lay, *deliver him into the hands of the civil Magistrate.* Mr. BROWN was afterwards made Bishop of Cork; and I am told Mr. TOLAND used to say, *he had made him a Bishop.* It is the same person, who, because he cou'd not bear, as 'tis presum'd, that people shou'd drink *to the Memory of King WILLIAM,* wrote a Pamphlet against drinking to the Memory of any person, as being a prophanation of the Lord's Supper; and at last, was driven to condemn drinking any Healths at all: for which he had the Authority of the famous WILLIAM PRYNNE, who publish'd in 1628, a Book entitled, *Healths Sickness: or a compendious and brief discourse, proving the drinking, and pledging of Healths, to be sinful and utterly unlawful unto Christians, &c.* He had also the Authority of JOHN GEREE, M. A. and Pastor of St. Faith's in London, who put out in 1648 a Pamphlet, call'd: *Θειοφάρμακον: a divine Potion to preserve spiritual Health, by the cure of unnatural Health-drink-*

drinking. Or an exercise wherein the Evil of Health-drinking is by clear and solid Arguments convinced. Written for the satisfaction, and published by the direction of a godly Parliament-man. But this by the by.

Mr. MOLYNEUX sent Mr. BROWN's Book to Mr. LOCKE; and in a Letter to him, he makes some very judicious reflections both upon that work, and the Grand Jury's proceedings against Mr. TOLAND. Mr. TOLAND, *says he* (15), "has had his opposers here, "as you will find by a Book which I have "sent you The Author is my acquaintance; but two things I shall never "forgive in his Book; the one is, the foul "language and opprobrious names he gives "Mr. TOLAND; the other is, upon several "occasions, calling in the aid of the Civil "Magistrate, and delivering Mr. TOLAND up "to secular Punishment. This indeed is a "killing Argument; but some will be apt to "say, That where the strength of his Reason "fail'd him, there he flies to the strength of "the Sword. And this minds me of a business that was very surprizing to many, even "several Prelates in this place, the Presentment of some pernicious Books, and their "Authors, by the Grand Jury of Middlesex. "This is look'd upon as a matter of danger

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"rous

" rous consequence, to make our Civil Courts
 " Judges of Religious Doctrines; and no one
 " knows, upon a change of Affairs, whose
 " turn it may be next to be condemn'd. But
 " the example has been followed in our
 " Country; and Mr. TOLAND, and his Book,
 " have been presented here, by the Grand
 " Jury, not one of which (I am persuaded)
 " ever read one leaf in *Christianity not My-*
 " *sterious*. Let the Sorbone for ever now
 " be silent; a learned Grand Jury, directed
 " by as learned a Judge, does the business
 " much better. The Dissenters here were the
 " chief promoters of this matter; but, when
 " I asked one of them, what if a violent
 " Church of England Jury should present
 " Mr. BAXTER's Books, as pernicious, and
 " condemn them to the flames by the com-
 " mon executioner? He was sensible of the
 " error, and said, *he wished it had never*
 " *been done.*"

Mr. TOLAND, it seems, was dreaded in
 Ireland, as a most formidable enemy of Chri-
 stianity, a second GOLIATH, who at the head
 of the Philistines defied the Armies of Israel;
 in so much, that, as he relates it himself,
 " in a few days (16) after the Lords Justices
 " of that Kingdom landed, the Recorder of
 " Dublin, Mr. HANCOCK, in his congratula-
 " tory Harangue in the name of his Corpo-
 " ration,

“ration, begg’d their Lordships wou’d protect the Church from all its enemies, but particularly from the TOLANDISTS.”

BUT to give the last and finishing stroke to Mr. TOLAND’s Book, some people concluded to bring it before the Parliament. “And therefore (17) on Saturday the 14th day of August, it was mov’d in the Committee of Religion, that the Book entitul’d, *Christianity not Mysterious*, should be brought before them, and accordingly it was order’d that the said Book should the Saturday following be brought into the Committee. That day the Committee sat not; but the next Saturday, which was the 28th day of August, there met a very full Committee, wherein this business was a great while debated. Several persons eminent for their birth, good qualities, or fortunes, oppos’d the whole Proceeding, being of opinion it was neither proper nor convenient for them to meddle with a thing of that nature. But when this point was without much argument carried against them, they insisted that the Passages which gave offence in the Book should be read; and then the Committee was adjourn’d till the 4th of September. That day, after several Gentlemen had spoke to the Objections made to some Passages in the Book, they urg’d at

* B 4

“ last

“ last, according to Mr. TOLAND’s own de-
 “ sire, that he should be call’d to answer in
 “ person, to declare the sense of his Book,
 “ and his design in writing it. But this fa-
 “ vour being peremptorily deny’d, an ho-
 “ nourable Member went to the Bar, and of-
 “ fer’d a Letter to be read which he had re-
 “ ceiv’d that morning from Mr. TOLAND,
 “ containing what satisfaction he intended to
 “ give the Committee, had they thought fit
 “ to let him speak for himself. But this was
 “ likewise refus’d, and the Committee came
 “ immediately to those Resolutions, to which
 “ the House agreed, after some Debate on
 “ Thursday following, being the 9th of Sep-
 “ • tember, viz. *That the Book entitul’d, Chri-*
 “ *stianity not Mysterious, containing several*
 “ *Heretical Doctrines contrary to the Chri-*
 “ *stian Religion and the establisht Church*
 “ *of Ireland, be publickly burnt by the hands*
 “ *of the common Hangman.* Likewise, *That*
 “ *the Author thereof JOHN TOLAND be taken*
 “ *into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms,*
 “ *and be prosecuted by Mr. Attorney Gene-*
 “ *ral, for writing and publishing the said*
 “ *Book.* They order’d too, *That an Address*
 “ *should be made to the Lords Justices to*
 “ *give Directions that no more Copies of*
 “ *that Book be brought into the Kingdom,*
 “ *and to prevent the selling of those already*
 “ *imported.* Their Sentence was executed on
 “ the Book the Saturday following, which
 “ was the 11th of September, before the Par-
 “ liament;

“liament-House Gate, and also in the open
“street before the Town-House; the Sheriffs
“and all the Constables attending.”

UPON this, Mr. TOLAND very wisely
took his way back into England. “Mr. TO-
“LAND, *says Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr.*
“LOCKE (18), is, at last, driven out of
“our Kingdom; the poor Gentleman by
“his imprudent Management, had raised
“such an universal Outcry, that it was even
“dangerous for a man to have been known
“once to converse with him. This made
“all men wary of reputation decline seeing
“him; in so much that at last he wanted a
“meal’s-meat (as I am told) and none would
“admit him to their tables. The little stock
“of Money which he brought into this Coun-
“try being exhausted, he fell to borrowing
“from any one that would lend him half a
“Crown, and run in debt for his Wigs,
“Cloaths, and Lodging, (as I am inform’d;)”
“and last of all, to compleat his hard-
“ships, the Parliament fell on his Book,
“voted it to be burnt by the common hang-
“man, and ordered the Author to be taken
“into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and
“to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General
“at Law. Hereupon he is fled out of this
“Kingdom, and none here knows where
“he has directed his Course.”

Dr.

Dr. SOUTH was so well pleas'd with this conduct of the Irish Parliament, that he complemented the Archbishop of Dublin upon it, in the Dedication of his third Volume of *Sermons*, printed in 1698. After having condemn'd our remissness here in England, for bearing with Dr. SHERLOCK, whose notions of the Trinity he charges with Heresy; he adds, "But on the contrary amongst you, when a certain *Mahometan Christian* (no new thing of late), notorious for his blasphemous denial of the *Mysteries* of our Religion, and his insufferable virulence against the whole *Christian Priesthood*, thought to have found shelter amongst you, the *Parliament* to their immortal Honour, presently sent him packing, and without the help of a *Faggot* soon made the Kingdom *too Hot* for him."

AS soon as he was in London, he publish'd an apologetical account of the treatment he had receiv'd in Ireland, intitled: *An Apology for Mr. TOLAND, in a Letter from himself to a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland; written the day before his Book was resolv'd to be burnt by the Committee of Religion. To which is prefix'd a Narrative containing the occasion of the said Letter.*

IN

IN the year 1698, after the Peace of Ryswick, there arose a great dispute among our Politicians, concerning the forces to be kept on foot, for the quiet and security of the nation. Several Pamphlets came out on that subject: some for, others against, a standing Army. Mr. TOLAND propos'd to reform the Militia, in a Pamphlet, intitled: *The Militia Reformed; or an easy Scheme of furnishing England with a constant Land Force, capable to prevent or to subdue any foreign Power; and to maintain perpetual quiet at home, without endangering the publick Liberty.* In 8°.

THE same year he published the *Life of JOHN MILTON*, which was prefix'd to his *Works* collected together (except the Poetical part) in three volumes in folio; the two first containing the English, and the third the Latin Pieces. It was also printed separately in 8°, with this title: *The Life of JOHN MILTON, containing, besides the History of his Works, several extraordinary Characters of Men, of Books, Sects, Parties, and Opinions.* There, speaking of MILTON's *Iconoclastes*, he not only gave an account of that performance, as his plan required he should; but he thought fit likewise to enter upon the Controversy, that had been lately carry'd on with great heat concerning the Author of *Icon Basilike*, and to sum up and enforce the arguments

guments of those who deny'd it to be a production of King CHARLES I. In the close of that digression he shew'd by what nice and unforeseen accidents this *notorious imposture*, as he calls it, happen'd to be discover'd; and from thence took occasion to make the following observation :

“ WHEN I seriously consider, *says he* (19),
 “ how all this happen'd among ourselves with-
 “ in the compass of forty years, in a time of
 “ great Learning and Politeness, when both
 “ Parties so narrowly watch'd over one ano-
 “ ther's actions, and what a great Revolution in
 “ civil and religious Affairs was partly occa-
 “ sion'd by the credit of that Book, I cease to
 “ wonder any longer how so many suppositi-
 “ tious pieces under the name of CHRIST, his
 “ Apostles, and other great Persons, should be
 “ published and approv'd in those primitive
 “ times, when it was of so much importance
 “ to have 'em believ'd; when the Cheats were
 “ too many on all sides for them to reproach
 “ one another, which yet they often did; when
 “ Commerce was not near so general as now,
 “ and the whole earth intirely over-spread
 “ with the darkness of Superstition. I doubt
 “ rather the Spuriousness of several more such
 “ Books is yet undiscover'd, thro' the remote-
 “ ness of those Ages, the death of the Persons
 con-

(19) *The Life of Mr. JOHN MILTON*, pag. 91. 92.

“ concern’d, and the decay of other Monu-
 “ ments which might give true Information.

THIS passage was censur’d by Mr. OF-
 SPRING BLACKALL, then Chaplain in ordi-
 nary to the King, and afterwards Bishop of Ex-
 ceter, in a Sermon preached on the 30th of
 January following before the House of Com-
 mons. After exclaiming against the Author
 of MILTON’S *Life* for denying *Icon Basilike*
 to be the compofure of King CHARLES I;
 he purfued his accusation in thefe terms: “ We
 “ may ceafe to wonder *fays he* (20), that
 “ he fhould have the boldnefs, without proof,
 “ and againft proof, to deny the Authority
 “ of this Book, who is fuch an Infidel as to
 “ doubt, and is fhamelefs and impudent e-
 “ nough, even in print, and in a Christian
 “ Country, publickly to affront our holy Re-
 “ ligion, by declaring his doubt, that *feveral*
 “ *Pieces under the Name of CHRIST and his*
 “ *Apostles*, (he muft mean thofe now receiv’d.
 “ by the whole Christian Church, for I know
 “ of no other) *are fuppoſititious; tho’ thro’*
 “ *the remoteneſs of thoſe Ages, the Deat^h of*
 “ *the Perſons concern’d, and the decay of other*
 “ *Monuments which might give us true Infor-*
 “ *mation, the ſpurioſneſs thereof is ye t undiſ-*
 “ *cover’d.*” Thus, Mr. BLACKALL charg’d Mr.
 TOLAND with *declaring* that there were *ſeve-*
ral

(20) A Sermon preached before the honourable Houſe of Com-
 mons, Jan. 30th, 1698-9. Lond. 1699. pag. 1 6.

ral Pieces under the name of CHRIST and his Apostles, the spuriousness whereof he suspected ; and from thence he inferr'd that Mr. TOLAND must mean those now receiv'd by the whole Christian Church, or the Books of the New Testament ; because he, Mr. BLACKALL, knew of no other that went under the name of CHRIST and his Apostles.

Mr. TOLAND thought fit to vindicate himself from this imputation of Mr. BLACKALL : and at the same time, he undertook to confute the reasons, which Mr. WAGSTAFFE had alledged, to prove that King CHARLES I. was the true Author of *Icon Basilike*, in a Pamphlet printed in 1693, with this title: *A Vindication of King CHARLES the Martyr, proving that his Majesty was the Author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλική: against a Memorandum, said to be written by the Earl of Anglesey ; and against the Exceptions of Dr. WALKER, and others.* In answer to both these Authors, Mr. TOLAND publish'd, *Amyntor : or, a Defence of MILTON'S Life. Containing, I. A general Apology for all Writings of that kind. II. A Catalogue of Books attributed in the primitive times to JESUS CHRIST, his Apostles and other eminent Persons : With several important Remarks and Observations relating to the Canon of Scripture. III. A compleat History of the Book, entitul'd, Icon Basilike, proving Dr. GAUDEN, and not King CHARLES*

CHARLES *the first, to be the Author of it: With an Answer to the Facts alledg'd by Mr. WAGSTAF to the contrary; and to the Exceptions against my Lord Anglesey's Memorandum, Dr. WALKER's Book, or Mrs. GAUDEN's Narrative, which last Piece is now the first time publish'd at large.*

I shall not take notice of what Mr. TOLAND observes concerning *Icon Basilike*: the title of his Book expresses it sufficiently. As to Mr. BLACKALL's charge, after having transcrib'd the passage in the *Life of MILTON* excepted against, "Here then, *says he* (21), "in the first place, it is plain, that, I say, a "great many spurious Books were early father'd on CHRIST, his Apostles, and other "great Names, part whereof are still acknowledged to be genuin, and the rest to be forg'd, "in neither of which Assertions I cou'd be "justly suppos'd to mean any Books of the "New Testament, as I shall presently evince. "But Mr. BLACKHALL affirms, That I must "intend *those now receiv'd by the whole Christian Church, for he knows of no other*. A cogent Argument truly! and clearly proves his Logic to be just of a piece "with his Reading But had Mr. BLACKALL been dispos'd to deal ingenuously "with me, he might see, without the help "of the Fathers, that I did not mean the
" Books

(21) *Amyntor*, pag. 15, &c.

“ Books of the New Testament, when I
 “ mention’d Supposititious Pieces under the
 “ Name of CHRIST, since there is none a-
 “ scribed to him in the whole Bible; nor do
 “ we read any where that he wrote any
 “ thing Now to convince all the
 “ world that I did not intend by those Pieces
 “ the Books of the New Testament, as well
 “ as to shew the Rashness and Uncharitable-
 “ ness of Mr. BLACKHALL’s Assertion, I shall
 “ here insert a large Catalogue of Books an-
 “ ciently ascribed to JESUS CHRIST, his Apo-
 “ stles, their Acquaintance, Companions, and
 “ Contemporaries.”

THEN he gives a *Catalogue of Books mention’d by the Fathers and other ancient Writers, as truly or falsely ascribed to JESUS CHRIST, his Apostles, and other eminent Persons*: which, for its exactness and accuracy, has been commended by several learned men abroad, and even by some of Mr. TOLAND’s Adversaries at home (22). After having given that Catalogue, he proceeds thus:

“ HERE’s, says he (23), a long List for
 “ Mr. BLACKALL, who, ’tis probable, will
 “ not think the more meanly of himself for
 “ being unacquainted with these Pieces; nor,
 “ if that were all, should I be forward to think
 “ the

(22) That *Catalogue* enlarged and corrected, the Reader will find in this *Collection*, Vol. I. pag. 350.

(23) *Ibid.* pag. 42, &c.

“ the worse of him on this account : but I
 “ think he is to blame for denying that there
 “ were any such, because he knew nothing
 “ of ’em ; much less should he infer from
 “ thence, that I deny’d the Scriptures ; which
 “ Scandal however, because manifestly proceed-
 “ ing from Ignorance, I heartily forgive him,
 “ as every good Christian ought to do.

“ T O explain now therefore the several
 “ Members of the Passage in MILTON’s Life :
 “ In the first place, by the spurious Pieces I
 “ meant, tho’ not all, yet a good parcel of
 “ those Books in the Catalogue, which I am
 “ persuaded were partly forged by some more
 “ zealous than discreet Christians, to supply
 “ the brevity of the Apostolic Memoirs ; part-
 “ ly by designing Men to support their private
 “ Opinions, which they hop’d to effect by
 “ virtue of such respected Authorities : and
 “ some of ’em, I doubt, were invented by
 “ Heathens and Jews to impose on the Cre-
 “ dulity of many well-dispos’d persons, who
 “ greedily swallow’d any Book for Divine
 “ Revelation that contain’d a great many Mi-
 “ racles, mixt with a few good Morals, while
 “ their Adversaries laugh in their sleeves all
 “ the while, to see their tricks succeed, and
 “ were rivetted in their ancient Prejudices by
 “ the greater Superstition of such Enthusiasts.

“ I N the second place, by the Books of
 “ whose spuriousness I said the World was
 VOL. I. * C “ not

“ not yet convinc’d, tho’ in my private Opini-
 “ on I could not think ’em genuin, I meant
 “ those of the other great Persons, or the
 “ suppos’d Writings of certain Apostolic Men
 “ (as they call ’em) which are at this present,
 “ as well as in ancient times, read with ex-
 “ traordinary Veneration. And they are the E-
 “ pistle of BARNABAS, the Pastor of HERMAS,
 “ the Epistle of POLYCARPUS to the Philippians,
 “ the first Epistle of CLEMENS ROMANUS to the
 “ Corinthians, and the seven Epistles of IG-
 “ NATIUS. These are generally receiv’d in the
 “ Church of Rome, and also by most Pro-
 “ testants; but those of the Church of Eng-
 “ land have particularly signaliz’d themselves
 “ in their Defence, and by publishing the cor-
 “ rectest Impressions of them. The Ancients
 “ paid them the highest respect, and reckon’d
 “ the first four of them especially, as good as
 “ any part of the New Testament: &c.

Mr. TOLAND’s Defence engaged Mr. BLAC-
 KALL to put out a Pamphlet, entitled: *Mr.*
BLACKALL’s Reasons for not replying to a
Book lately published, entituled, Amyntor.
In a Letter to a Friend. I charged Mr. TO-
 LAND, says he, with doubting of the Authori-
 ty of the Books of the New Testament: but
 he declares that he does not mean those Books:
 therefore we are now agreed; there can be
 no dispute between us on that subject. “ All
 “ that I could say to this, *pursues he*, (if I
 “ had a mind to reply to this part of his
 “ Book)

“ Book) would be only to give the world
 “ the Reason that made me think, he meant
 “ some of the Books of the New Testament;
 “ which was this; that he having spoken be-
 “ fore of *supposititious Pieces under the name*
 “ *of CHRIST and his Apostles*, as well as of
 “ other great Persons; it was very reasonable
 “ to think, when immediately after, in the
 “ same Period he speaks of *several more such*
 “ *Books*, the spuriousness of which is not yet
 “ discover’d, he had meant *several*, some at
 “ least, of all the sorts before mention’d;
 “ that is, some under the name of CHRIST,
 “ and some under the name of his Apostles,
 “ as well as some under the name of the o-
 “ ther great Persons. For how should I know
 “ what he meant by *such Books*, but by
 “ looking back, and seeing what Books he
 “ had spoken of before? And finding that
 “ he had there spoken, not only of Books
 “ under the name of other great Persons, but
 “ likewise *under the name of CHRIST and his*
 “ *Apostles*, what could I understand by *such*
 “ *Books*; but some Books under the name of
 “ CHRIST and his Apostles, as well as some
 “ under the name of other great Persons?
 “ And if he did not mean so, or would not
 “ have been thought to have meant so;
 “ he ought, I think, to have distinguish’d
 “ and have made that Passage which I
 “ excepted against, an intire sentence by
 “ it self; and have said plainly, that tho’
 “ he thought some Books spurious, which

“ some others believed to be genuine, they
 “ were only some pieces that had been ascribed
 “ to the other great Men, but not any
 “ of those that were receiv’d as Pieces of
 “ CHRIST or his Apostles; and if he had
 “ written his mind thus clearly, I should no
 “ more have excepted against this Passage than
 “ I did against the former.

I leave it to you, SIR, who are an excellent Logician, to judge of the pertinency of this Answer. I shall only observe, that Mr. TOLAND after having thus profess’d, that in the aforesaid passage he had no view to the Books of the New Testament; he notwithstanding endeavour’d by several suggestions and insinuations to make the Authority of the present Canon suspicious and precarious. But he was answer’d by some of our Divines; as by Mr. (now Dr.) SAMUEL CLARKE, in a small Tract, intitled: *Some Reflections on that part of a Book called Amyntor, or the Defence of MILTON’s Life, which relates to the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, and the Canon of the New Testament. In a Letter to a Friend:* by Mr. STEPHEN NYE in his *Historical Account and Defence of the Canon of the New Testament. In Answer to AMYNTOR:* and by Mr. JOHN RICHARDSON, B. D. formerly Fellow of Emmanuel College in Cambridge, in *The Canon of the New Testament vindicated; in Answer to the Objections of J. T. in his AMYNTOR.*

THAT

THAT part of *Amyntor*, which related to *Icon Basiliæ*, was answer'd by Mr. WAGSTAFFE, in a Pamphlet call'd, *A Defence of the Vindication of King CHARLES the Martyr; justifying his Title to ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, In Answer to a late Pamphlet intituled, Amyntor. By the Author of the Vindication.* If you desire to see all that Mr. WAGSTAFFE has offer'd with respect to this Controversy, you will find it summ'd up and digested in the third Edition of his *Vindication*, printed in 1711: *A Vindication of K. CHARLES the Martyr: proving that his Majesty was the Author of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, Against a Memorandum said to be written by the Earl of Anglesey; And, against the Exceptions of Dr. WALKER and others. To which is added a Preface, wherein the bold and insolent Assertions, published in a Passage of Mr. BAYLE's Dictionary, relating to the present Controversy, are examined and confuted. The third Edition, with large Additions; together with some original Letters of King CHARLES the first under his own Hand, never before printed, and faithfully copied from the said Originals.* In the Preface he falls foul upon Mr. BAYLE, and is likewise very angry with the Author of his *Life* (subjoin'd to the English Translation of his *Reflections upon the Comets*, printed in 1709) for observing that in his *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, he relates historical facts with

a perfect disinterestedness and impartiality. The matter of fact is this. Mr. BAYLE having given an Article of MILTON in the first Edition of his Dictionary, when he was about correcting and enlarging it for a second Edition, he was inform'd that Mr. TOLAND had publish'd the Life of that celebrated Author, and desir'd to read it in order to improve that Article. But as he did not understand English, he had some Abstracts made of it in Latin, and took his Additions from them; and among others he gave an account of *Icon Basilike*, agreeable to Mr. TOLAND's assertions, or rather according to the Latin Abstracts of his Book, which he carefully cites in the margin. And for a further caution, he makes this general Remark, which Mr. WAGSTAFFE has transcrib'd in his Preface (24) but with some omissions whereof I shall take notice. "Note, says Mr. BAYLE, that in all this, I neither ought, nor can be consider'd, but as a mere Transcriber of MILTON's Life publish'd in English". Mr. BAYLE's words are: *comme un simple traducteur des extraits Latins que j'ai fait faire du livre Anglois que je cite*: i. e. "as a mere translator of the Latin Abstracts I procured of the English Book (*Amyntor*) which I cite." Note also, pursues Mr. BAYLE, that this Passage of the Life of MILTON has been oppos'd; for Mr. WAGSTAFFE publish'd some Observations, to weaken the Testimony of
 " my

“ my Lord ANGLESEY, the Narrative of Dr.
 “ WALKER, and the Papers of Mr. NORTH.
 “ But Mr. TOLAND hath refuted them all in
 “ his *Amyntor*, wherein he hath farther dis-
 “ cuss’d all the Testimonies that are alledg’d
 “ to assert the *Icon Basilike* to King CHARLES
 “ the first. I was told, that as to both these
 “ Parts * of his Apology, he has omitted no-
 “ thing that was necessary to maintain the
 “ full Evidence of his Proofs, and all the
 “ strength they appear’d to have before any
 “ one wrote against them. This is all that
 “ I can say, having never read any thing that
 “ was written against him, or what was re-
 “ plied by him.” The French hath, *n’ayant*
point lu ce qu’on a fait contre lui, ni ce qu’il
a repliqué, & ne le pouvant point entendre,
car ce sont tous livres Anglois: i. e. “ hav-
 “ ing never read what was written against
 “ him, nor what was reply’d by him, and
 “ not being able to understand it, for all
 “ these Books are in English.

AND now, SIR, I appeal to your equi-
 ty, whether Mr. BAYLE cou’d have acted in
 this matter with more caution, impartiality,
 and disinterestedness? But it may be ask’d
 why did he not give an account of Mr. WAG-
 STAFFE’s Answer? Why, truly, because he
 had it not, and was assured by persons, who

* C 4

seem’d

* That is to say, the Answer to the Objections of Mr.
 WAGSTAFFE, and the Answer to the direct Proofs alledg’d
 by the Partizans of King CHARLES.

seem'd to him proper judges, that there was not much in it. Besides, whatever good opinion Mr. WAGSTAFFE might have of his own performance, he ought not to expect that Mr. BAYLE would enter into the bottom of that Controversy, without verifying his quotations, comparing the Arguments of both sides, and consequently, having all the Pamphlets publish'd on that occasion translated into Latin. But on the other side, why did Mr. WAGSTAFFE leave out of the aforesaid passage, this material circumstance, that Mr. BAYLE declares he did not understand English, and was oblig'd to procure some Latin Abstracts of Mr. TOLAND's Book? Was he afraid it would not have serv'd his turn? In short, if he was so tender on that point, why did he not send him a Latin Translation of his two Pamphlets, to be made use of in the Supplement of his Dictionary? The second Edition of that Dictionary came out in the beginning of the year 1702, and Mr. BAYLE liv'd five years longer; why did he chuse to raise all this Clamour, and endeavour to asperse and blacken his Memory nine or ten years after, in 1711?

BUT to give you a specimen of Mr. WAGSTAFFE's temper, accuracy, and judgment, I will transcribe here what he says on occasion of PAMELA's Prayer. Mr. BAYLE, *says he*, (25)
 " has

“ has given PAMELA’s Prayer at large, com-
 “ par’d it with the *Arcadia*, and set down
 “ in two Columns one against another; and
 “ to what purpose was this inserted He
 “ says indeed, that MILTON *made a great*
 “ *noise about it*, and that is true; but what
 “ follows, that MILTON *plac’d that Parallel*
 “ *at the end of his Answer*, is a plain and
 “ notorious Falshood; for MILTON himself,
 “ placed neither the Prayer nor the Parallel
 “ at the end of his Answer, but Mr. TOLAND
 “ plac’d them there many years after MIL-
 “ TON’s Death. So that in this short Para-
 “ graph, we have abundant Evidences, not
 “ only of his Negligence, Partiality and Ma-
 “ lice, but of his Unaccurateness also; each
 “ of which sits very heavy on his Character.”

THIS is a heinous Charge indeed, brought
 in with great confidence; but you’ll presently
 see that there is not the least foundation for
 it. Mr. WAGSTAFFE represents Mr. BAYLE
 as grounding his assertion upon the English
 Original of MILTON’s *Iconoclastes*; whereas
 he made use of a French Translation of that
 Book, printed in 1652, by DU GARD, and he
 gives the title of it at large. The two Prayers,
 he transcrib’d out of that Translation, where-
 in they are set in two Parallel Columns; and
 in the margin he refers to the page where they
 are to be found, thus: MILTON, *pag. m. 24.*
de l’Iconoclastes. Moreover, at the end of
 the two Prayers, he gives a short Advertise-
 ment

ment of the French Translator relating to PAMELA's Prayer. He took for granted that this Translation was agreeable to the Original; and if he was misled by the Translator, how could he help it? There is greater reason to wonder, how Mr. WAGSTARFE could overlook all these particulars: and one might, I fear, retort his own words upon him, and observe *that in this short Paragraph we have abundant Evidences, not only of his Negligence, Partiality, and Malice, but of his Unaccurateness also.*

I shall make no Apology for this Digression. I know that Mr. BAYLE had a great share in your esteem; and don't doubt but you'll be pleas'd to see justice done to his Memory. This task properly belong'd to the Author of his *Life*, as being more particularly concern'd: but since he hath thought fit to be silent, I was glad to find this occasion to vindicate so great a Man as Mr. BAYLE. Let us now return to Mr. TOLAND.

IN the same year (25) 1699, he publish'd the *Memoirs of Denzil Lord HOLLES, Baron of Ifield in Sussex, from the year 1641 to 1648*. The Manuscript was put into his hands by the late Duke of NEWCASTLE, who was

(25) The Author of these Memoirs might have observ'd, that this year Mr. TOLAND took a turn into Holland, as it appears by some Letters in this *Collection*. See Vol. II. pag. 333, 335.

was one of his patrons and benefactors; and he dedicated them to his Grace. He did likewise prefix a Preface.

IN 1700, he publish'd HARRINGTON'S *Oceana*, with some other Pieces of that ingenious Author, which had not been yet printed: *The Oceana of JAMES HARRINGTON, and his other Works, some whereof are now first publish'd from his own Manuscripts. The whole collected, methodiz'd, and review'd, with an exact account of his Life prefix'd, by JOHN TOLAND.* In folio.

HE closes the Preface, with giving notice that this Life of HARRINGTON shall be the last Life but one, which he intends to write of any modern person. "As for myself, *says he*, tho no employment or condition of life shall make me disrelish the lasting entertainment which Books afford; yet I have resolv'd not to write the Life of any modern Person again, except that only of one Man still alive, and who in the ordinary course of nature I am like to survive a long while, he being already far advanc'd in his declining time, and I but this present day beginning the thirtieth year of my age." That Preface being dated, November 30, 1699; we find here the precise time of his birth.

IN the conclusion of the Life, he makes the following Declaration: " If I write, *says* " *he*, any thing hereafter (either as oblig'd " by duty, or to amuse idle time) I have de- " termin'd it shall not concern personal Dis- " putes, or the narrow interests of jarring " Factions, but something of universal bene- " fit, and which all sides may indifferently " read. Without such provocations as no " man ought to endure, this is my fix'd re- " solution; and I particularly desire that none " may blame me for acting otherwise, who " force me to do so themselves." This he said, I suppose, with respect to the disputes he had been engaged in. How he kept this resolution, will appear in the sequel.

ABOUT the same time, came out a Pamphlet, intitled, *Clito, a Poem on the force of Eloquence*. The Editor tells us, that Mr. TOLAND is the Author of it, and that he is understood in the Poem by ADEISIDÆMON, which signifies *unsuperstitious*. The plan of that Piece is this. CLITO asks ADEISIDÆMON how far the force of Eloquence can go,

*To teach Mankind those Truths which
they mistake,
And who the noble Task durst undertake?*

ADEISI-

ADÆSIDÆMON undertakes that task, and tells him all the great and surprizing things he can perform, even with respect to religious matters :

*Nor will I here desist : all holy Cheats
Of all Religions shall partake my Threats,
Whether with sable Gowns they shew their
Pride,
Or under Cloaks their Knavery they hide,
Or whatsoe'er disguise they chuse to wear,
To gull the People, while their Spoils they
share, &c.*

THIS Piece was animadverted upon in a Letter, written, as it seems, by a Clergy-man, and publish'd with another Letter of the same Author against FULLER: *Mr. TOLAND's CLITO dissected: and FULLER's plain Proof of the true Mother of the pretended Prince of Wales made out to be no proof. In two Letters from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in London.* His Remarks are very severe, not to say abusive; as you may judge by the following passage: "As for the Name
" of the Poem, *says he* (27), how he comes
" to call it CLITO, or, *the force of Elo-*
" *quence*, when he himself, not his pretend-
" ed Friend, acts the Orator, I know not,
" and it looks something like a mistake. Had
" he

" he given it the Heathenish name of To-
 " LAND, or ADESIDEMON, I am apt to
 " think this abominable issue of his brain
 " would have had a more significant appella-
 " tion. And tho CLITO be too good a
 " Name, for a person who has any intimacy
 " with a Man of his Character, yet I must
 " join with him in approving his choice of
 " ADESIDEMON for himself; which is in
 " downright English (not Unsuperstitious, as
 " he terms it) but *one that fears neither*
 " *God nor Devil.*"

IN the beginning of the year 1701, he
 publish'd a Book, intitl'd, *The Art of Go-*
verning by Parties: particularly in Religion,
in Politicks, in Parliament, on the Bench,
and in the Ministry; with the ill effects of
Parties on the People in general, the King
in particular, and all our foren Affairs; as
well as on our Credit and Trade, in Peace
or War, &c. His name no where appears in
 this Book, which he dedicated to the King,
 with this pretty singular Inscription: *To*
WILLIAM III. King of England, Scotland,
France, and Ireland: Statholder of Guelder-
land, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Over-
ysse: supreme Magistrat of the two most
potent and flourishing Commonwealths in the
Universe. In the first Chapter, he observes,
 that "till the accession of the STUARTS to
 " the Imperial Throne of this Realm, we
 " never knew *the Art of Governing by Par-*
 " *ties,*"

“ *ties*. It was set on foot among us by the
 “ first of that Race, and was daily improv-
 “ ing under his Successor, till at last it fa-
 “ tally turn’d on himself, and depriv’d him
 “ both of his Crown and Life. But because
 “ *says he*, this execrable Policy was brought
 “ to perfection under CHARLES II, I shall
 “ display some of its worst effects in his
 “ Reign, and the dismal influence it has on
 “ all our Affairs ev’n at this time.

ABOUT the same time Mr. TOLAND put out a Pamphlet, call’d, *Propositions for uniting the two East-India Companies: in a Letter to a Man of Quality, who desir’d the Opinion of a Gentleman not concerned in either Company*. In 4°.

IN March following, Mr. TOLAND being inform’d that the lower House of Convocation had appointed a Committee to examine Books lately publish’d against the Christian Religion, or the establish’d Church of England, and that his *Christianity not Mysterious* and his *Amyntor* were under the consideration of that Committee; he writ two Letters to Dr. HOOPER, Prolocutor of the lower House of Convocation, either to give such satisfaction as should induce them to stop their proceedings, or desiring to be heard in his own defence before they pass’d any Censure on his Writings. But “ the lower
 “ House

“ House (28), without Consultation with the
 “ Bishops, without expecting the King’s Li-
 “ cense, and without any regard to the two
 “ Letters he sent ’em, came to formal Re-
 “ solutions about *Christianity not Mysterious*;
 “ and on the Report of the Committee ap-
 “ pointed, they did, about the twentieth of
 “ March, send a *Representation* to the Bishops,
 “ praying their Lordship’s *Concurrence to their*
 “ *Resolutions*, with *their Advice and Direc-*
 “ *tions what effectual Course might be taken*
 “ *to suppress this Book and all other pernicious*
 “ *Books already written against the Truth*
 “ *of the Christian Religion, and to prevent*
 “ *the Publication of the like for the future.*”

At the same time, they extracted five Positions
 out of that Book, and their Resolutions con-
 tain’d, that *in their Judgment, the said Book*
is of pernicious Principles, of dangerous Con-
sequence to the Christian Religion, written
on a design (as they conceive) and tending
to subvert the Fundamental Articles of the
Christian Faith: that the Positions extracted
out of it are, together with diverse others of
the same nature, pernicious, dangerous, scan-
dalous, and destructive of the Christian
Faith.

THIS Representation they sent to the Up-
 per House, which did likewise appoint a Com-
 mittee of Bishops to examine Mr. TOLAND’S
Book;

Book : and they found therein several Positions, as they conceiv'd, of dangerous consequence, and one in particular, which they look'd on as the foundation of all the rest, of which the lower House had not taken notice. Upon the Report of the Committee of the Bishops to the Upper House, they were all unanimously of opinion to proceed (as far as legally they could go) against the Book and the Author: but they also agreed before hand to advise with Council Learned in the Law. Which being done, " their Lordships
 " (29) in Answer to that Part of the *Representation* which concern'd a *Censure*, declared (April the eighth) that *on their consulting with Council learned in the Law concerning heretical, impious, or immoral Books, and particularly concerning this Book sent up to them from the lower House, they do not find, how, without a Licence from the King (which they had not yet receiv'd) they cou'd have sufficient Authority to censure judicially any such Books: but on the contrary they were advised that by so doing both Houses of Convocation might incur the Penalties of the Statute of 25 of H.8.* And this opinion their Lordships received from able Lawyers after desiring their Resolution of these two Questions ;
 " First, *Whether the Convocation's giving an Opinion concerning a Book that is heretical,*
 VOL. I. * D.

I THE LIFE OF

“ *retical, impious, and immoral, is contrary*
 “ *to any Law?* To which they receiv’d an
 “ Answer in the Affirmative: Secondly,
 “ *Whether the Positions* (they had extracted
 “ *out of Christianity not Mysterious)* *were*
 “ *such an opinion as is contrary to any Law?*
 “ to which it was answer’d in the Negative.
 “ Nor did they content themselves with this
 “ Advice, but they inquir’d besides what had
 “ been formerly done in such Cases, and
 “ found that on a Complaint being exhibited
 “ against some Books by the lower to the
 “ upper House, in the year 1689, the Learn-
 “ ed in both the Laws were of Opinion they
 “ cou’d not proceed judicially in such Mat-
 “ ters.”

AFTER the Death of the Duke of Glo-
 ceſter, it was thought neceſſary to make a
 further proviſion for the Succeſſion of the
 Crown in the Proteſtant Line. Accordingly
 in June 1701, an *Act* was paſſ’d *for the fur-*
ther Limitation of the Crown, by ſettling it;
 after the deceaſe of King WILLIAM and the
 Princeſs ANNE of Denmark; and for default
 of their Iſſue, upon the Princeſs SOPHIA,
 Electreſs and Dutcheſs Dowager of Hanover,
 and the Heirs of her body being Proteſtants :
 and in the ſame Act a proviſion was likewiſe
 made *for better ſecuring the Rights and Li-*
berties of the Subjects. Mr. TOLAND pub-
 liſh’d on that occaſion a Book, intitl’d, *Ang-*
lia Libera: or, the Limitation and Succeſ-
ſion

sion of the Crown of England explain'd and asserted; as grounded on his Majesty's Speech; the Proceedings in Parliament; the Desires of the People; the Safety of our Religion; the Nature of our Constitution; the Balance of Europe; and the Rights of Mankind.

He gives the plan or design of this Book, in his Epistle Dedicatory to the Duke of NEWCASTLE. "The new *Limitations of the Crown*, says he, are the subject of the following Discourse, which is written, first, to convince our own People of their future safety against Popery and Arbitrary Power; and that his present Majesty has not only made us a freer Nation than he found us, but has also rais'd our Liberty to a degree scarce to be exceeded by all his successors: Secondly, to show all persons both at home and abroad, that the Proceedings of the Parliament on this occasion are agreeable to the Principles of Justice and the ends of all good Government, as well as according to the constant practice of this Kingdom: And thirdly, to acquaint the House of Hanover with the true nature of their Title, and the frame of that Government to which they are like to succeed; what confidence our People repose in their Virtues from his Majesty's Recommendation; how alive they may command the Love of their Subjects, and when dead enjoy the Veneration of all Posterity."

THE King having sent the late Earl of MACCLESFIELD to Hanover with the Act of Succession, Mr. TOLAND took this opportunity to go thither. He presented his *Anglia Libera* to her Electoral Highness the Princess SOPHIA, and was (30) the first who had the honour of kneeling and kissing her Hand on account of the Act of Succession. The Earl of MACCLESFIELD was pleas'd to recommend him, particularly to Her Highness. Mr. TOLAND stay'd there five or six weeks: and upon his departure, their Highnesses the Electress Dowager, and the Elector, were pleas'd to present him with several Gold Medals, as a princely acknowledgment for the Book he had wrote about the Succession, in defence of their title and family. Her Highness condescended to give him likewise the Pictures of herself, the Elector, the young Prince, and of her Majesty the Queen of Prussia, done in oil colours. The Earl of MACCLESFIELD in his return, waited upon the King at Loo, and gave an Account of his Negotiation to his Majesty. " There, *says Mr. To-*
 " LAND (31), he presented me to kiss his
 " Majesty's Hand, and took off those impressions which might have been made upon
 " him, by some of them who endeavour'd
 " to prepossess him against those that were
 " the

(30) See the *Account of the Court of Hanover*, p. m. 49. 63, 69. and *Vindicius Liborius*, p. 154, 155.

(31) *An Account*, &c. p. 64.

“ the most zealous for his service, and the
 “ most faithful in his Interests. My Lord
 “ himself went with a prejudice against me
 “ to Hanover, where he was thoroughly unde-
 “ ceiv’d, and became my hearty Patron, till
 “ just on his going home he was remov’d by
 “ death from the service of his country and
 “ his friends.

ON the 11th of November, a Proclamation
 was issued out dissolving the present Parlia-
 ment, and calling another to meet the 30th
 of December. While the Candidates were
 making interest in their respective Counties,
 Mr. TOLAND publish’d the following Adver-
 tisement in the Post-Man (32): *There having
 been a public Report as if Mr. TOLAND stood
 for Bleckingley in Surry, ’tis thought fit to ad-
 vertise that Sir ROBERT CLAYTON has given
 his Interest in that Borough to an eminent
 Citizen; and that Mr. TOLAND hath no
 thoughts of standing there or any where else.*
 This Advertisement afforded matter of plea-
 santry to an anonymous Writer, who pub-
 lish’d a little Pamphlet, intitled: *Modesty mis-
 taken: or, a Letter to Mr. TOLAND, upon
 his declining to appear in the ensuing Par-
 liament.* He begins his Letter thus: “ A-
 “ mongst all the News of this busy Sea-
 “ son, no report has affected me so peculiarly,
 * D 3 “ as

“ as that of your Inclination to fill a seat in
 “ the Grand approaching Council ; for I am
 “ persuaded, that not only our Civil Interest,
 “ but our Religion has some dependance on
 “ the Issue of the next Debates ; and I have
 “ long known your Talents, whether in Po-
 “ liticks or Theology, to be so weighty, as
 “ to qualify you at once for a Good Old
 “ *Committee Man*, and for a Member of that
 “ *Healing Synod*, the *Assembly of Divines*.
 “ It was with this double justice to your
 “ Merit that I lately confounded an Acade-
 “ mical Fop ; who speaking of your Book-
 “ learn’d Antagonist, the late Bishop of *Wor-*
 “ *cester*, and gravely styling him a *Body of*
 “ *Divinity*, was by me given to understand,
 “ that what the Bishop had in *Profundity*,
 “ Mr. TOLAND made out in *Latitude* ; and
 “ that if the one was *Corpus Theologiae*, the
 “ other was *Tractatus-theologico-politicus* :
 “ &c.

THE King’s Speech at the opening of the
 Parliament gave Mr. TOLAND occasion to pub-
 lish, *Paradoxes of State, relating to the pre-*
sent juncture of affairs in England and the
rest of Europe ; chiefly grounded on his Ma-
jeſty’s princely, pious, and moſt gracious Speech.
 1702, 4°.

SOON after he put out another Pam-
 phlet, containing, I. *Reasons for addreſſing his*
Majeſty to invite into England their High-
neſſes,

nesses, the Electress Dowager and the Electoral Prince of Hanover: And likewise, II. Reasons for attainting and abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, and all others pretending any claim, right, or title from the late King JAMES and Queen MARY. With Arguments for making a vigorous War against France. 1702, 4°.

THIS was writ against by LUKE MILBURN, in a Pamphlet call'd, *An Answer to Mr. TOLAND'S Reasons for addressing his Majesty to invite into England their Highnesses, the Electress Dowager and the Electoral Prince of Hanover. And also to his Reasons for attainting the pretended Prince of Wales, &c. 1702, 4°.*

Mr. TOLAND had the satisfaction to see that the Parliament pass'd an *Act for the Attainder of the pretended Prince of WALES of High Treason*: and another *Act for the further Secured of his Majesty's person, and the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, and extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales and all other Pretenders and their open and secret abettors*, which enjoin'd the taking an *Oath of Abjuration* of the Pretender. The King gave his Royal Assent to these two Acts by Commission, on the 2^d and 7th of March, and died on the 8th of the same month.

THE difference which had happen'd the year before between the two Houses of Convocation, on account of their Jurisdiction, having occasion'd several Pamphlets, wherein a relation was given of their Proceedings against *Christianity not Mysterious*; and Mr. TOLAND finding himself ill us'd in those that were written in favour of the Lower House; he publish'd, *Vindicius Liborius*; or, *Mr. TOLAND's Defence of himself, against the Lower House of Convocation and others; wherein (besides his Letters to the Prolocutor) certain Passages of the Book, intitul'd Christianity not Mysterious are explain'd, and others Corrected: with a full and clear Account of the Author's Principles relating to Church and State; and a Justification of the Whigs and Common-wealths-men, against the Misrepresentations of all their Opposers.* 1702. 8°.

AFTER the publication of this Book, Mr. TOLAND went to the Courts of Hanover and Berlin, where he was receiv'd very graciously by the Princess SOPHIA, and by the Queen of PRUSSIA: two Princesses, who for the delicacy of their Wit, the solidity of their Judgment, and the sublimity of their Genius, will ever be accounted the glory of the fair Sex. The most abstruse points of Philosophy were no more than a matter of diversion to them;

them; and they delighted in conversing about 'em, with men of wit and penetration, whose notions were new or uncommon. Mr. TOLAND had the honour to be often admitted into their Conversation: and as he made a longer stay at Berlin than at Hanover, so he had frequent opportunities of waiting upon the Queen, who took a pleasure in asking him questions, and hearing his paradoxical Opinions. This gave him occasion to write some Pieces, which he presented to her Majesty. There he writ likewise a Relation of the Courts of Prussia and Hanover.

AFTER his return into England, he put out in 1704, some Philosophical Letters, three of which were inscribed to SERENA, that is the Queen of Prussia, who, he assures us, was pleas'd to ask his Opinion concerning the subjects of them: *Letters to SERENA: containing, I. The Origin and Force of Prejudices: II. The History of the Soul's Immortality among the Heathens. III. The Origin of Idolatry, and Reasons of Heathenism. As also, IV. A Letter to a Gentleman in Holland, showing SPINOZA's System of Philosophy to be without any Principle or Foundation. V. Motion essential to Matter; in answer to some Remarks by a Noble Friend on the Confutation of SPINOZA. To all which is prefix'd, a Preface; being a Letter to a Gentleman in London, sent together with the foregoing Dissertations, and declaring the several Occasions*

cations of writing them. These Letters were animadverted upon by Mr. WOTTON, in a Pamphlet, call'd, *A Letter to EUSEBIA, occasioned by Mr. TOLAND's Letters to SERENA.*

AT the same time he publish'd an English Translation of the *Life of Æsop* by Monsieur DE MEZIRIAC, and dedicated it to ANTHONY COLLINS Esq. It was prefix'd to the Fables of Æsop, *The Fables of Æsop: with the moral Reflexions of Monsieur BAUDOIN. Translated from the French. To which is prefix'd by another hand; The true Life of Æsop, by the most learned and noble Critick Monsieur DE MEZIRIAC, proving by unquestionable Authorities, that ÆSOP was an ingenious, eloquent, and comely person, a Courtier and Philosopher; contrary to the fabulous Relation of the Monk PLANUDES, who makes him stupid, stammering, a buffoon, and monstrously deform'd.*

IN the year 1705, he publish'd the following Pieces :

SOCINIANISM truly stated: being an example of fair dealing in Theological Controversys. To which is prefix'd, Indifference in Disputes: recommended by a Pantheist to an Orthodox friend. A Pamphlet
n4 °.

AN

AN Account of the Courts of Prussia and Hanover: sent to a Minister of State in Holland; dedicated to the Duke of Somerset. This Account was translated into French, Dutch, and High-Dutch. Two Letters were publish'd against it; in Dutch: and indeed, 'tis but an indifferent performance.

THE Ordinances, Statutes, and Privileges of the Royal Academy, erected by his Majesty the King of Prussia, in his capital City of Berlin. Translated from the Original.

THE Memorial of the State of England, in Vindication of the Queen; the Church, and the Administration: design'd to rectify the mutual Mistakes of Protestants, and to unite their Affections in defence of our Religion and Liberty. This was publish'd without the name of the Author, by the direction of Mr. HARLEY, Secretary of State, and one of his Patrons and Benefactors, against the Memorial of the Church of England, written by Counsellor POOLEY and Dr. DRAKE, with a design to prejudice and influence the People in the Election of the ensuing Parliament, by representing the then Whig Administration as contriving the Destruction of the Church, and countenancing its greatest enemies.

Mr. TOLAND's Book was animadverted upon by THOMAS RAULINS Esq; one of his intimate friends, in a *Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the State of England*, which contain'd several reflections against the Duke of MARLBOROUGH's Conduct the preceding Campaign, as well as against Mr. HARLEY. This Pamphlet did very much exasperate them; and Mr. WILLIAM STEPHENS, Rector of Sutton in Surrey, being found the Publisher of it, and refusing to be an evidence against Mr. RAULINS, he was sentenced to stand in the Pillory: but that sentence was afterwards remitted.

Mr. TOLAND was directed to answer Mr. RAULINS's Letter; whereupon he compos'd another Pamphlet, intitled: *A Defence of her Majesty's Administration: particularly, against the notorious forgeries and calumnies with which his Grace the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, and the right honourable Mr. Secretary HARLEY, are scandalously defam'd and aspers'd in a late scurrilous Invektive, entituled, "A Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the State of England."* This Answer was immediately put to the press: but for some particular reasons it was suppress'd, when six or seven sheets were already printed.

Mr.

Mr. HARLEY having accidentally found, among some other Manuscripts, a Piece call'd, *Oratio ad excitandos contra Galliam Britannos*, he communicated it to Mr. TOLAND, who publish'd it in the beginning of the year 1707, with this title: *Oratio Philippica ad excitandos contra Galliam Britannos; maxime verò, nè de Pace cum victis prae-maturè agatur: sanctiori Anglorum Concilio exhibita, Anno a Christo nato 1514. Authore Matthaeo Cardinale Sedunensi; qui Gallorum ungues non ressecandos, sed penitus evelendos esse voluit. Publicâ luce, Diatribâ praeliminari, & Annotationibus donavit JOANNES TOLANDUS.* He publish'd it at the same time in English.

SOON after, he put out *The Elector Palatine's Declaration, lately publish'd, in favour of his Protestant Subjects, and notify'd to her Majesty. To which is prefix'd, An impartial Account of the Causes of those Innovations and Grievances about Religion, which are now so happily redress'd by his Electoral Highness.* This he publish'd at the request of the Elector Palatine's Minister, who at that time had some particular reasons to make himself acceptable to his Master: for he desired to be rais'd from the title of Resident to that of Envoy. Accordingly being inform'd by Mr. TOLAND, with whom he was intimately acquainted, of his design

of

of going into Germany, he encourag'd him to wait upon the Elector, and gave him Instructions concerning the management of this Affair.

Mr. TOLAND set out for Germany towards the middle of the Spring. He went first to Berlin : but an incident, too ludicrous to be mentioned in these Memoirs, oblig'd him to leave that place sooner than he expected. From thence he went to Hanover, where he found that they were not pleas'd with some Observations he had made in his *Account of the Court of Hanover*, on the territories of a neighbouring Prince. He proceeded to Dusseldorp, and was very graciously receiv'd by his Electoral Highness, who, in consideration of the English Pamphlet he had publish'd, presented him with a Golden Chain and Medal, and a purse of a hundred Ducats. He went afterwards to Vienna, being commission'd by a famous French Banker, then in Holland, who wanted a powerful protection, to engage the Imperial Ministers to procure him the title of *Count of the Empire*, for which he was ready to pay a good sum of money : but they did not think fit to meddle with that affair, and all his attempts proved unsuccessful. From Vienna he visited Prague in Bohemia, where the Irish Franciscans gave him the Testimonial above-mention'd. And now his money being all spent, he was forced

forced to make a hard shift to get back to Holland, where he stay'd till the year 1710.

BEING at the Hague, he publish'd in 1709. a Volume containing two Latin Dissertations: the first he call'd, *Adeisidaemon, sive Titus Livius à superstitione vindicatus. In qua Dissertatione probatur, Livium Historicum in Sacris, Prodigis, & Ostentis Romanorum enarrandis, haudquaquam fuisse credulum aut superstitiosum; ipsamque superstitionem non minus Reipublicæ (si non magis) exitiosam esse, quàm purum putum Atheismum. Autore J. TOLANDO.* He prefix'd to it, *Epistola (quæ Præfationis vices supplere possit) ad Do. ANTONIUM COLLINUM Armerum, non magis integritate morum quàm ingenii dotibus conspicuum virum.* The second Dissertation bears the title of, *Origines Judaicæ: sive, Strabonis de Moyse & Religione Judaica Historia, breviter illustrata.* In this Dissertation he gives us STRABO's passage in Greek and Latin, with his Observations upon it, wherein he seems to prefer the Account of that Pagan Author concerning MOSES and the Jewish Religion, before the Testimony of the Jews themselves: a most extravagant imagination! In the same Dissertation, he ridicules HUETIUS, who in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, affirms that some eminent persons recorded in the Old Testament are allegoriz'd in the Heathenish Mythology; that MOSES, for instance, is under-

stood

stood by the name of BACCHUS, TYPHO, SRLENUS, PRIAPUS, and ADONIS. And here Mr. TOLAND does not seem to be much in the wrong. However, HUETIUS was greatly provok'd at this attack; and he express'd his resentment in a French *Letter*, first publish'd in the *Journal of Trevoux*, and afterwards printed with some *Dissertations* of HUETIUS, collected by Abbot TILLADET (33).

THESE two Dissertations of Mr. TOLAND were answered by Monsieur LA FAYE, Minister at Utrecht, in a Book printed in 1709, call'd, *Defensio Religionis, nec non Mosis & gentis Judaicae contra duas Dissertationes JO. TOLANDI, quarum una inscribitur, Adeisidæmon; altera vero, Antiquitates Judaicae*: and by Monsieur BENOIST, Minister at Delft, in his *Mélange de Remarques Critiques, Historiques, Philosophiques, Theologiques, sur les deux Dissertations de Mr. TOLAND, intitulées, l'une: l'Homme sans Superstition, & l'autre; les Origines Judaïques, &c.* Printed at Delft 1712.

HE likewise put out at Amsterdam in 1709, a second Edition of *Oratio Philippica* &c: to which he subjoin'd an Invective against the Author of a Rhapsody publish'd monthly at Paris, under the title of *Mercure Galant*, wherein, as you may easily guess, the Conduct of
the

(33) See above, pag. v.

the Allies, as well as their respective interests, were represented with a notorious partiality : *Gallus Aretalogus, odium orbis & ludibrium : sive Gallantis Mercurii gallantissimus scriptor vapulans.*

IN the beginning of 1710 he publish'd without his name, a French Pamphlet relating to Dr. SACHEVERELL : *Lettre d'un Anglois à un Hollandois, au sujet du Docteur SACHEVERELL, presentement en arrêt par ordre des Communes de la Grande Bretagne ; & accusé de hauts Crimes & Malversations à la Barre des Seigneurs.* In 4°.

WHILE he was in Holland, he had the good fortune to get acquainted with Prince EUGENE of Savoy, who gave him several marks of his Generosity.

AFTER his return to England he put out, in 1711, *The Description of Epsom, with the Humours and Politicks of that Place : in a Letter to EUDOXIA* (34). There is added, *A Translation of four Letters out of PLINY.* These four Letters he publish'd, as a Specimen of the Translation he was

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making

(34) That *Description* is inserted in this Collection, Vol. II. pag. 91. but with so many Corrections, Additions, and Notes, that it is in some measure, a new work ; and for that reason Mr. TOLAND call'd it, *A new Description of Epsom.*

making of PLINY's *Letters*: but how far he carried that design, I cannot tell (35).

THE year following he publish'd :

A Letter against Popery: particularly against admitting the Authority of Fathers or Councils in Controversies of Religion: by SOPHIA CHARLOTTE the late Queen of Prussia. Being an Answer to a Letter written to her Majesty by Father VOTA, an Italian Jesuit, Confessor to King AUGUSTUS. There is prefix'd by the Publisher, a Letter containing the occasion of the Queen's writing, and an Apology for the Church of England.

HER Majesty's Reasons for creating the Electoral Prince of Hanover a Peer of this Realm (36): or, the Preamble to his Patent as Duke of Cambridge. In Latin and English; with Remarks upon the same. In 4°.

THE grand Mystery laid open: namely, by dividing of the Protestants to weaken the Hanover Succession, and by defeating the Succession to extirpate the Protestant Religion. To which is added, The Sacredness of Parliamentary Securities, against those, who would indirectly this year, or more indirectly
the

(35) All the Letters he has translated are in this Collection, Vol. II. pag. 48.

(36) In the year 1706.

the next (if they live so long) attack the publick funds.

AT that time, he undertook to publish a new Edition of C I C E R O's Works by Subscription, and gave an account of his plan in a Dissertation, entitled: *Cicero illustratus, Dissertatio Philologico-Critica: sive Concilium de toto edendo Cicerone, alia planè methodo quàm hætenus unquam factum.* This Piece, I know, you have been enquiring after a long time: but cou'd never meet with it. It is very scarce; and the reason is, that it was never made publick: Mr. TOLAND having only printed a few Copies at his own charge, to distribute among his friends and Subscribers (37).

IN 1713 he put out, *An Appeal to honest People against wicked Priests: or, the very Heathen Laity's Declarations for Civil Obedience and Liberty of Conscience, contrary to the rebellious and persecuting Principles of some of the old Christian Clergy; with an Application to the corrupt part of the Priests of this present time: publish'd on occasion of Dr. SACHEVERELL's last Sermon.*

DUNKIRK or Dover: or the Queen's Honour, the Nation's Safety, the Liberties
* E 2 of

(37) The Reader will find it in this Collection, Vol. I, pag. 229.

of Europe, and the Peace of the World, all at stake till that Fort and Port be totally demolish'd by the French.

THE year following, he publish'd some other Pamphlets relating to the present situation of Affairs in England: viz.

THE Art of Restoring: Or, the Piety and Probity of General MONK in bringing about the last Restoration, evidenc'd from his own Authentick Letters: with a just Account of Sir ROGER (38), who runs the Parallel as far as he can. In a Letter to a Minister of State, at the Court of Vienna. There were ten editions of it within a quarter of a year.

A Collection of Letters written by his Excellency General GEORGE MONK, afterwards Duke of ALBEMARLE, relating to the Restoration of the Royal Family. With an Introduction, proving by incontestable Evidence, that MONK had projected that Restoration in Scotland; against the Cavils of those who wou'd rob him of the merit of this Action.

THE funeral Elogy and Character of her Royal Highness, the late Princess SOPHIA: with the explication of her consecration Medal,

Medal. Written originally in Latin, translated into English, and further illustrated, by Mr. TOLAND, who has added the Character of the King, the Prince, and the Princess. This Latin Piece was written by Monsieur CRAMER.

THE same year Mr. TOLAND publish'd, *Reasons for naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland, on the same foot with all other Nations. Containing also, A Defence of the Jews against all vulgar Prejudices in all Countries.* He prefix'd to it an ingenious, but somewhat ironical, Dedication to the most Reverend the Arch-Bishops, and the Right Reverend the Bishops, of both Provinces.

IN 1717, he put out, *The State-Anatomy of Great Britain. Containing a particular Account of its several Interests and Parties, their bent and genius; and what each of them, with all the rest of Europe, may hope or fear from the Reign and Family of King GEORGE. Being a Memorial sent by an intimate friend to a foreign Minister, lately nominated to come for the Court of England.* This Tract was answer'd by Dr. FIDDES, Chaplain to the Earl of OXFORD, and by DANIEL DE FOE: whereupon Mr. TOLAND publish'd, *The second Part of the State-Anatomy, &c. Containing a short Vindication of the former Part, against the Misrepresentations of the ignorant*

or the malicious, especially relating to our Ministers of State and to Foreigners; with some Reflections on the design'd Clamour against the Army, and on the Suedish Conspiracy. Also, Letters to his Grace, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Dissenting Ministers of all denominations, in the Year 1705-6, about a General Toleration, with some of their Answers to the Author: who now offers to publick Consideration, what was then transacted for private Satisfaction; together with a Letter from their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, on the same subject. Mr. TOLAND used to prefix long Titles to his Books, the better, I suppose, to recommend them to the Booksellers.

IN the Year 1718, he publish'd, *Nazare-nus: or, Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity. Containing, the history of the antient Gospel of BARNABAS, and the modern Gospel of the Mahometans, attributed to the same Apostle: this last Gospel being now first made known among Christians. Also, the Original Plan of Christianity occasionally explain'd in the history of the Nazarens, whereby diverse Controversies about this divine (but highly perverted Institution) may be happily terminated. With the relation of an Irish Manuscript of the four Gospels, as likewise a Summary of the antient Irish Christianity, and the reality of the Keldees (an Order of Lay-*

Lay-religious) against the two last Bishops of WORCESTER. The *Original Plan of Christianity*, according to Mr. TOLAND, was this: that the Jews, tho associating with the converted Gentiles, and acknowledging them for brethren, were still to observe their own Law throughout all generations; and that the Gentiles, who became so far Jews as to acknowledge one God, were not however to observe the Jewish Law: but that both of them were to be for ever after united into one body or fellowship, in that part of Christianity particularly, which, better than all the preparative purgations of the Philosophers, requires the sanctification of the Spirit, and the renovation of the inward man; and wherein alone the Jew and the Gentile, the Civiliz'd and the Barbarian, the Freeman and the Bondslave, are all one in Christ, however otherwise differing in their circumstances.

THIS Book was examin'd by Mr. MANGEY in his *Remarks upon Nazarenus: wherein the falsity of Mr. TOLAND's Mahometan Gospel, and his misrepresentation of Mahometan Sentiments, in respect of Christianity, are set forth; the history of the old Nazareans cleared up, and the whole conduct of the first Christians in respect of the Jewish Law, explained and defended*: by Mr. PATERSON, in his *Anti-Nazarenus, by way of Answer to Mr. TOLAND; or, a Treatise proving the divine original and authority of the Holy Scri-*

tures against Atheists, Jews, Heathens, Mahometans, Papists, Spinoza, and other modern Errors; as also against a late Pamphlet, entitled, "The Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the Study of the Scriptures:" and by Dr. BRETT in the Preface of his Tradition necessary to explain and interpret the Holy Scriptures: &c.

THE same year he put out a Pamphlet, call'd, *The Destiny of Rome: or, the Probability of the speedy and final Destruction of the Pope. Concluded, partly, from natural Reasons, and political Observations; and partly, on occasion of the famous Prophecy of St. MALACHY, Archbishop of Armagh, in the XIIIth Century: Which curious Piece, containing Emblematical Characters of all the Popes, from his own time to the utter Extirpation of them, is not only here entirely publish'd; but likewise set in a much clearer light, than has ever hitherto been done. In a Letter to a Divine of the Church of the First-born.* What made him trifle away his time upon this subject, I will not pretend to account for: I shall only observe, that this Prophecy of St. MALACHY is look'd upon as a most silly impertinent forgery by the best Popish Criticks, and has been demonstrated to be so by the ingenious Father MENESTRIER, a Jesuit. I will send you his Remarks upon it, if you have the curiosity to see them.

IN the beginning of the Year 1720, Dr. HARE having put out a fourth Edition of his *Vistation Sermon* entitled, *Church Authority vindicated*, &c; with a Postscript concerning Mr. TOLAND, he publish'd the following Advertisement in the *Post-Man* (39) :

“ Whereas the Reverend Dr. HARE, in the
 “ Postscript to the 4th Edition of his Sermon
 “ (*Church Authority vindicated*) publish'd
 “ last Friday, speaking of the Right Reverend
 “ the Bishop of BANGOR's Writings, uses the
 “ following words in page 48. *It must be al-*
 “ *low'd his Lordship judges very truly, when*
 “ *he says, they are faint resemblances of*
 “ *Mr. CHILLINGWORTH: For envy it self*
 “ *must own, his Lordship has some resem-*
 “ *blance to that Great Man; just such a one*
 “ *as Mr. TOLAND has to Mr. LOCKE, who, in*
 “ *Christianity not Mysterious, is often quoted*
 “ *to support Notions he never dream'd of.*
 “ Now, this is to inform all those who have
 “ not read *Christianity not Mysterious*, that I
 “ have never nam'd Mr. LOCKE in any Edi-
 “ tion of that Book; and that far from *often*
 “ *quoting* him, I have not as much as brought
 “ one Quotation out of him *to support No-*
 “ *tions he never dream'd of.* I hope Mr. LOCKE
 “ himself may be heard, in a matter wherein
 “ he is so nearly concern'd. In the Dispute
 “ between him and the then Bishop of Wor-
 “ cester, Dr. STILLINGFLEET, his Lordship
 “ was pleas'd to affirm, that what he oppos'd
 “ in

(39) *The Post-Man*, from January 30, to February 2. 1720.

“ in my Book was built on Mr. LOCKE; of
 “ which Allegation the latter, in his *Second*
 “ *Reply*, sufficiently shows the falsity. *The*
 “ *Author of Christianity not Mystrious* (says
 “ he, *Works*, Vol. I. page 138.) *supposes that*
 “ *we must have clear and distinct Ideas of*
 “ *whatever we pretend to any certainty of*
 “ *in our Mind. Your Lordship calls this*
 “ *a new way of reasoning. This Gen-*
 “ *tleman of this new way of reasoning,*
 “ *in his first Chapter, says something which*
 “ *has a conformity with some Notions*
 “ *in my Book: but it is to be observ'd, he*
 “ *speaks them as his own thoughts, and*
 “ *not upon my Authority, nor with taking*
 “ *any notice of me.* Thus again, in page 440.
 “ granting that I made use of words some-
 “ what like his (as who has read any good
 “ Philosopher that does not do the same?)
 “ *I humbly conceive also, says he, that he*
 “ *made use of them as his own, and not as*
 “ *my words; for I do not remember, that*
 “ *he quotes me for them. This I am sure, that*
 “ *in the words quoted out of him by your Lord-*
 “ *ship, upon which my Book is brought in,*
 “ *there is not one syllable of certainty by*
 “ *Ideas.* The Bishop himself was forc'd at
 “ last to own, that Mr. LOCKE and I went
 “ upon different grounds; nay he averr'd that
 “ mine were the better (whether in justice to
 “ me, or opposition to him, I leave to the
 “ judgment of the Publick) upon which Mr.
 “ LOCKE reply'd, pag. 443. *I am suppos'd to*
 “ *say,*

“ say, that the cause why I continue unsa-
 “ tisfied, is; that the Author mention’d went
 “ upon a ground different from mine: And,
 “ to satisfy me, I am told his way is better
 “ than mine, which cannot but be thought
 “ an Answer very likely to satisfy me. He
 “ shows, in a word, that I was misrepresented
 “ as well as himself, and presses the Bishop of
 “ WORCESTER, to produce the parallel places
 “ out of him and me; as I do hereby call
 “ upon the Dean of WORCESTER, to show,
 “ where I have *often*, or once *quoted* Mr.
 “ LOCKE to support *Notions he never dream’d*
 “ *of*. As Mr. LOCKE then took notice, that
 “ his Name and mine were to be join’d, no
 “ matter what way; so people cannot but
 “ now observe, the same Artifice is us’d with
 “ regard to the Bishop of BANGOR: For which
 “ favour, of introducing me into so good
 “ Company, I thank both the Dignitaries of
 “ WORCESTER; tho’ I shou’d never importune
 “ any body to violate the Rules of Candor
 “ and Decorum, in doing me a like kind-
 “ ness.

J. TOLAND.

London, Feb. 1. 1720.

IN Answer to this Advertisement, Dr. HARE publish’d the following one in the Daily-Courant (40) :

“ Just

(40) *The Daily-Courant*, February 3. 1720.

“ Just publish’d, the 4th Edition of,

“ The Dean of Worcester’s Visitation Ser-
 “ mon, entitled, *Church Authority vindica-*
 “ *ted.* [In the Postscript l. 9. from the end,
 “ instead of *is often quoted*, read *makes great*
 “ *use of Mr. LOCKE’s Principles.*] Sold by
 “ J. ROBERTS near the Oxford Arms in War-
 “ wick-lane. Price 6d.

Dr. HARE’s Advertisement occasion’d the
 publishing of a Pamphlet, with this title: *A*
short Essay upon Lying; or, a Defence of a
Reverend Dignitary, who suffers under the
Persecution of Mr. TOLAND, for a Lapsus
calami.

UPON a dispute between the Irish and
 British Houses of Lords with respect to Ap-
 peals, the latter order’d a *Bill* to be brought
 in for the better securing the *Dependency of*
the Kingdom of Ireland, upon the Crown
of Great Britain; wherein it was declared,
 that there lay an Appeal from any Decree of
 the House of Lords in Ireland to the House
 of Lords in Great Britain, as to the supreme
 Court of Judicature and last resort. Some
 Pamphlets were printed at Dublin in favour
 of the Irish House of Lords, and to prevent
 the passing of that Bill, which Mr. TOLAND
 caus’d to be reprinted at London: and he
 himself publish’d on that occasion, *Reasons*
most

most humbly offer'd to the honourable House of Commons, why the Bill sent down to them from the most honourable the House of Lords, entitled, A Bill for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain, shou'd not pass into a Law.

ABOUT that time, he printed a Latin Tract, intitl'd, *Pantheisticon: sive Formula celebrandae Sodalitatis Socraticae, in tres Particulas divisa; quae Pantheistarum, sive Sodalium, continent, I. Mores & Axiomata: II. Numen & Philosophiam: III. Libertatem, & non fallentem Legem neque fallendam. Praemittitur, de antiquis & novis Eruditorum Sodalitatibus, ut & de Universo infinito & aeterno, Diatriba. Subjicitur, de duplici Pantheistarum Philosophia sequendâ, ac de Viri Optimi & ornatissimi idea, Dissertatiuncula. Cosmopoli, M. DCC. xx.* That *Formula celebrandae Sodalitatis Socraticae*, is written by way of Dialogue, between the President of a Philosophical Society, and the Members of it. The President recommends to them the love of Truth, Liberty, and Health; and encourages them to be chearful, sober, temperate, and free from Superstition: and in their Answers they declare their readiness to observe his Precepts. He now and then reads to them passages out of CICERO or SENECA; and sometimes they sing all together some Verses out of the antient Poets,

suitable

suitable to their Maxims. As to the Religion of these Philosophers, their name sufficiently shews what it is. They are *Pantheists*, and consequently acknowledge no other God than the Universe. And if we further look upon this Piece as made up of Responses, Lessons, a Philosophical Canon, and a sort of Litany, and the whole printed both in red and black; we shall hardly forbear thinking that it was written in derision of some Christian Liturgies. He himself seems to have been sensible, that he had too much indulg'd his loose imagination; for he got it printed secretly, at his own charge, and but a few copies, which he distributed with a view of receiving some presents for them.

I had almost forgot to tell you, SIR, that he prefix'd before this Pamphlet a short Preface under the name of JANUS JUNIUS EOGANESIUS; which, tho' it was his true Christen-name, and the name of his Country, yet it serv'd for as good a cover as any he cou'd feign or invent: no body in England, being acquainted with these particulars. But you see now plainly the meaning of it. From *Inis-Eogan*, i. e. *Eogani Insula*, the place of his birth, he formed *Eoganefius*, as *Proconnesius*, or *Peloponnesius*.

SOME

SOME time after, he publish'd a Book intitl'd, *Tetradymus. Containing, I. HODEGUS; or the Pillar of Cloud and Fire, that guided the Israelites in the WilderNESS, not miraculous: but, as faithfully related in Exodus, a thing equally practis'd by other Nations, and in those places not onely useful but necessary* (41). II. *CLIDOPHORUS; or of the Exoteric and Esoteric Philosophy, that is, of the External and Internal Doctrine of the Ancients: the one open and public, accommodated to popular Prejudices and the establish'd Religions; the other private and secret, wherein, to the few capable and discrete, was taught the real Truth stript of all disguises.* III. *HYPATIA; or the history of a most beautiful, most virtuous, most learned, and every way accomplish'd Lady; who was torn to pieces by the Clergy of Alexandria, to gratify the pride, emulation, and cruelty of their Archbishop CYRIL, commonly but undeservedly stil'd Saint CYRIL.* IV. *MANGONEUTES: being a Defence of Nazarenus, address'd to the right reverend JOHN Lord Bishop of London; against his Lordship's*

(41) That Dissertation was answer'd in a Pamphlet call'd: *Hodegus confuted: or a plain demonstration, that the Pillar of Cloud and Fire, that guided the Israelites in the WilderNESS, was not a Fire of human Preparation, but the most miraculous presence of God: 1721. In 8^o.* And in a Discourse upon the *Pillar of Cloud and Fire, which guided the Israelites thro the WilderNESS, proving it to have been miraculous; occasion'd by a Dissertation of Mr. TOLAND's call'd HODEGUS: inserted in the Bibliotheca Literaria, &c. 1723. Numb. V. pag. 1, &c.*

ship's Chaplain Dr. MANGEY, his Dedicator Mr. PATERSON, and (who ought to have been nam'd first) the reverend Dr. BRETT, once belonging to his Lordship's Church.

IN the last of these Tracts, address'd to the late Bishop of London, he inserted his *Advertisement* against Dr. HARE, with the Doctor's Answer. After having observ'd
 “ that certain men (42) will neither allow
 “ themselves nor others to commend any
 “ thing in one from whom they differ; and
 “ that they do not stick at saying any thing
 “ to his prejudice, be it ever so improbable
 “ or even false:” and that “ these are the
 “ men who give Religion the deepest wounds,
 “ and who are not only the real and most
 “ dangerous unbelievers, but who likewise
 “ tempt the unwary and inconsiderate to be-
 “ come such: for if they were heartily per-
 “ suaded of the doctrines of Christianity,
 “ they wou'd not, in direct opposition to
 “ them, abandon all truth and charity; nor
 “ wou'd others think, they only made a
 “ gainful trade of teaching those holy doc-
 “ trines, but because they perceive their prac-
 “ tice glaringly contrary to their profession.
 “ Now since I am on this head, *pursues he*,
 “ and that, at the beginning of this *Letter*, I
 “ made out my right to demand justice of
 “ those among your Lordship's Clergy, who
 “ had

“ had injur’d me ; I shall lay before you the
 “ cause of some reasonable complaint, I con-
 “ ceive to have against Dr. HARE, a Preben-
 “ dary of your own Cathedral. This learn-
 “ ed gentleman hooking me into a work of
 “ his, without the least occasion or provoca-
 “ tion, I publish’d the following *Advertise-*
 “ *ment* on the second of last February, in
 “ the *Post-man* and in *St. James’s Evening*
 “ *Post* (43). . . . Every body did me all the
 “ justice then, I cou’d require on this occa-
 “ sion, except Dr. HARE himself : who, far
 “ from giving glory to God, and ingenu-
 “ ously acknowledging his fault, gets inserted
 “ in the *Courant* of next day, these words ;
 “ Instead of, *is often quoted*, read, *makes great*
 “ *use of Mr. LOCKE’s Principles*. First,
 “ Mr. LOCKE peremptorily disowns, that I
 “ *made any use of his Principles, to support*
 “ *notions he never dreamt of* ; and, secondly,
 “ it appears by the whole connection, that
 “ this emendation was not in the Doctor’s
 “ thoughts at the beginning ; or supposing it
 “ were, that it serves his cause as little as
 “ the other way of speaking : since I pro-
 “ ceed upon different *Principles* from Mr.
 “ LOCKE, and *Principles* that are better, if
 “ you believe the then Bishop of Worcester.
 “ In fine, no *Slip of the Pen*, nor any of
 “ the methods laid down by an ingenious
 Vol. I. F wri-

(43) See the *Advertisement* before, pag. lxxiii.

“ writer (44), can possibly salve the Doctor
 “ from oblique dealing: as the drawing me
 “ by the head and shoulders into his Pam-
 “ phlet, was unnecessary; if not spiteful,
 “ with regard to me or some other. I say
 “ it again, that it wou’d have been no con-
 “ descension below his dignity, since he
 “ vouchsafed to take notice of me at all,
 “ if he had accus’d his memory, or in any
 “ other manner own’d his mistake; instead of
 “ having recourse to shifts that deserve a
 “ coarser name, than I am willing to give,
 “ out of respect I pay him on other accounts.
 “ He shall find no man more ready to pro-
 “ claim his real merit, as I shall have some
 “ occasion to do so, before I finish this Let-
 “ ter. Uniformity of sentiments, as I have
 “ already told your Lordship more than once,
 “ shall never be the standard of my esteem;
 “ and Candor shall ever weigh more with
 “ me, than Learning or Parts, which yet
 “ with all the world I highly admire. How
 “ divine was that saying of Prince EUGENE!
 “ when sending a mark of his favor from
 “ Leicester-house to the reverend Mr. WHIS-
 “ TON; *tho I approve not at all his sentiments*
 “ (said he to an impertinent zealot) *yet I*
 “ *esteem him, as suffering for what he’s per-*
 “ *suaded to be the truth.* What a reproach
 “ is this to his Protestant Persecutors, out
 “ of

" of the mouth of one of the Roman Com-
 " munion!"

IN the conclusion of that Letter, he gives the following account of his Conduct and Sentiments: " Notwithstanding, *says he* (45),
 " the imputations of Heresy and Infidelity so
 " often publish'd by the Clergy, as lately in
 " the vauntingest manner by one not un-
 " known to you (the whiffing and the ig-
 " norant being ever the most arrogant and
 " confident) I assure your Lordship, that the
 " Purity of Religion, and the Prosperity of
 " the State, have been ever my chiefest aims.
 " CIVIL LIBERTY and RELIGIOUS TOLERA-
 " TION, as the most desirable things in this
 " World, the most conducing to peace, plen-
 " ty, knowledge, and every kind of happi-
 " ness, have been the two main objects of
 " all my writings. But as by Liberty I did
 " not mean Licentiousness, so by Tolerance
 " I did not mean Indifference, and
 " much less an Approbation of every Reli-
 " gion that I cou'd suffer. To be more par-
 " ticular, I solemnly profess to your Lord-
 " ship, that the Religion taught by JESUS
 " CHRIST and his APOSTLES (but not as since
 " corrupted by the subtractions, additions,
 " or other alterations of any particular man
 " or company of men) is that which I infi-
 " nitely prefer before all others. I do over

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" and

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“ and over again repeat CHRIST *and his*
 “ APOSTLES, exclusive of either Oral Tradi-
 “ tion, or the determinations of Synods :
 “ adding, what I declared before to the
 “ World, that Religion, as it came out of
 “ their hands, was no less plain and pure,
 “ than useful and instructive ; and that, as
 “ being the business of every man, it was
 “ equally understood by every body. For
 “ CHRIST did not institute one Religion for
 “ the learned, and another for the vul-
 “ gar, &c.

IN the Preface to this Volume, there is likewise a Vindication of himself and his Opinions : but it is too long to be inserted here.

Dr. HARE publish'd in 1721, a Book intitl'd, *Scripture vindicated from the Misrepresentations of the Lord Bishop of BANGOR &c.*, and in the Preface, speaking of the *Constitutions of Carolina*, he observes, that by one of the Articles, none are excluded from settling in that Country, upon the account of their Opinions, *but downright Atheists, such*, says he, *as the impious Author of the Pantheisticon* ; and at the bottom of the page he hath the Note following (46) : “ This Atheistick
 “ Writer not content with what he has
 “ dared to print in this prophane Piece, has,
 “ I

“ I am told, in some Copies inserted a Prayer
“ in MSS. in these or the like words :

“ *Omnipotens & Sempiterne BACCHE, qui*
“ *hominum corda donis tuis recreas, concede*
“ *propitius, ut qui hesternis poculis egroti*
“ *facti sunt, hodiernis curentur, &*
“ *per pocula poculorum.* How to
“ fill the blank I have left, I do not remem-
“ ber. Thus prays this *Pantheist*, whose im-
“ pudent Blasphemies loudly call for the Ani-
“ madversions of the Civil Power.

AND upon further intelligence, he inser-
ted this Advertisement in the *Errata*:

“ THE Prayer to BACCHUS, p. xxi. being,
“ to the best of my remembrance, in the very
“ words, in which I have heard it repeated
“ more than once by the same person; and
“ yet differing much in expression from two
“ written Copies I have lately seen; (which
“ also differ from each other;) I thought it
“ would not be unacceptable to the Reader,
“ to give him the following Copy; which,
“ whatever the other be, I can assure him is
“ from an Original.

“ *Omnipotens & Sempiterne BACCHE, qui*
“ *humanam societatem maxime in bibendo*
“ *constituisti; concede propitius, ut istorum*
“ *capita, qui hesternâ computatione gravantur,*

“ *hodiernâ leventur ; idq; fiat per pocula poculorum. Amen.*

WHEN Dr. HARE'S Book came out, I remember, SIR, you ask'd me whether Mr. TOLAND had really writ this Prayer : I cou'd not then answer your question ; but I have since enquir'd into this matter, and can now assure you that he never dream'd of any such thing. The person, who, I am told, is the author of it, I will forbear to name upon the account of his profession : tho', I believe, he only design'd it as a ridicule on Mr. TOLAND'S Club of Pantheist Philosophers, whom he imagin'd to be all drunkards ; whereas they are grave, sober, and temperate men. Upon the whole, it must be own'd, that as there is more wit and humour, so there is likewise a more bare-faced prophaneſs in this Prayer, than in any paſſage of the *Pantheisticon*.

THE ſame year, Mr. TOLAND publiſh'd ſome *Letters* of the Earl of SHAFTSBURY to the Lord MOLESWORTH, with an Introduction, wherein, after having done juſtice to the extraordinary parts and learning of the Earl of SHAFTSBURY, he gives a particular account of his principles and conduct with reſpect to public affairs : *Letters from the right honourable the late Earl of SHAFTSBURY, to ROBERT MOLESWORTH Eſq; now Lord Viſcount of that name. With two Letters written*

ten by the late Sir JOHN CROPLEY. To which is prefix'd a large Introduction by the Editor. These Letters turn chiefly upon two points, the Love of one's Country, and the Choice of a Wife.

Mr. TOLAND had for above four years past liv'd at Putney, from whence he cou'd conveniently go to London and come back the same day ; but he used to spend most part of the winter in London. Being in town about the middle of December, he found himself very ill ; having been lingring for some time before. His appetite and strength fail'd him : and a certain Doctor, who was call'd to him, made him a great deal worse, by bringing a continual vomiting and looseness upon him. However, he made a shift to return to Putney, where he grew better, and had some hopes of recovery. In this interval, he writ a Dissertation to shew the uncertainty of Physic, and the danger of trusting our life to those who practise it : while by our own care and experience we might easily provide such medicines as are proper and necessary for us (47). He did likewise prepare a Preface, to be prefix'd before a Pamphlet, call'd *The Danger of Mercenary Parliaments*, which it was thought seasonable to reprint against the

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(47) That Dissertation, intituled, *Physic without Physicians*, is printed in this *Collection*, Vol. II. pag. 273.

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approaching Election of a new Parliament. In this Piece, he design'd to set forth the infinite mischiefs of long and pack'd Parliaments: but he cou'd not finish it; for he died on Sunday the 11th of March 1721-2, about four a-clock in the morning. He behav'd himself throughout the whole course of his sickness with a true philosophical patience, and look'd upon death without the least perturbation of mind; bidding farewell to those about him, and telling them, *he was going to sleep.*

SOME few days before he died, he made the following Epitaph:

H. S. E.

JOANNES TOLANDUS,

Qui, in Hibernia prope Deriam natus,

In Scotia & Hibernia studuit,

Quod Oxonii quoque fecit adolescens;

Atque Germania plus semel petita,

Virilem circa Londinum transegit etatem:

Omnium Literarum excultor,

Ac Linguarum plus decem sciens.

Veritatis propugnator,

Libertatis assertor:

Nullius autem Sectator aut Cliens,

Nec minis, nec malis est inflexus,

Quin, quam elegit, viam perageret;

Utili

*Utili honestum antefereus,
 Spiritus cum æthereo patre,
 A quo prodiit olim, conjungitur :
 Corpus item, naturæ cedens,
 In materno gremio reponitur.
 Ipse vero æternum est resurrecturus,
 At idem futurus TOLANDUS nunquam.
 Natus Nov. 30.
 Cetera ex Scriptis pete.*

THUS, SIR, I have in obedience to your commands, and to the best of my ability, given you an Account of Mr. TOLAND, as an Author. I have, I presume, taken notice of all the Pieces he has publish'd ; but did not think it worth the while to mention his Projects. He hardly put out a Book, but he promis'd in it one or two more : which may help some learned German Biographer, to enlarge ALMELOVEEN's *Bibliotheca promissa & latens*. The most considerable of these Projects, and which, I believe, he intended to pursue in good earnest, was his *History of the Druids*. But I am credibly inform'd, that he had not so much as begun it. He has, however, left a very curious Specimen of it, in three Letters to the Lord MOLESWORTH (48).

I

(48) That Specimen the Reader will find in this Collection, Vol. I. pag. 2c

I shall not enter into Mr. TOLAND's personal Character, since you have not requir'd it of me. Nor will I mention what has been said of him by other Authors; some of which have carried their partiality so far, that they won't even allow him one single commendable quality. I'll give you an instance of this, from a late weekly Writer. After having misrepresented some circumstances of his Life, he proceeds thus :

“ HIS Misfortunes, *says he* (49), are to
 “ be ascribed to his Vanity ; he affected singularity in all things, (an easy way of being distinguished) he would reject an Opinion, merely because an eminent Writer embraced it ; he had a Smattering in many Languages, was a Critick in none ; his Style was low, confused, and disagreeable ; he prefix'd affected Titles to his Tracts, in imitation of some ancient Philosophers, in which he loved to talk of himself, and that in a most complaisant manner. Dabbling in Controversy was his Delight, in which he was rude, positive, and always in the wrong. His being known to the world, is owing chiefly to the Animadversions of learned Men upon his Writings, among whom 'twas a common trick in their Disputes

(49) *The Freeholders Journal*, March 21, 1721.

“ putes with one another, to charge their
 “ Adversary with an agreement to, or re-
 “ semblance of Mr. TOLAND's Notions, as
 “ the greatest Infamy, and the surest *Crite-*
 “ *riou* of Error. No man that wrote so
 “ voluminously against Religion, has ever
 “ done so little mischief; 'tis a Question whe-
 “ ther he was more pitied by the pious part
 “ of mankind, or despised by his fellow In-
 “ fidels. He was happy in one circumstance,
 “ that he expired the same Day with the Par-
 “ liament (50), whereby the little stream of
 “ his Impiety 'scaped the notice of those, who
 “ had their eyes fix'd upon the abatement of
 “ a deluge of Iniquity.”

YOU easily perceive, SIR, that several
 things here are overstrain'd, or purposely sug-
 gested to make Mr. TOLAND odious and con-
 temptible. After all, it must be own'd, that
 he might have employ'd his Talents much
 better than he has done. But he had the
 misfortune to fall into an idle indiscreet way
 of living, which he indulged to his death,
 notwithstanding the repeated advices and re-
 monstrances of his best friends. It were to
 be wish'd, he had consider'd that Wit and
 Learning don't go a great way to make one
 esteem'd

(50) Mr. TOLAND did not *expire the same day with the*
Parliament. He died on the eleventh, and the Parliament
 was dissolv'd on the tenth of March.

esteem'd and respected in the world, if they are not attended with those social Virtues, which are the ornaments as well as the duties of every man.

I am,

SIR,

Your most humble and
most obedient servant



A N

A N E L E G Y

On the late ingenious Mr. TOLAND.*

O TOLAND! mighty friend to nature's laws,
Thou great support of Truth, and Reason's
cause;

Art thou no more? Is thy last breath expir'd?
And nature to her ancient seat retir'd?
Each jarring element gone angry home?
And Master TOLAND a *Non-ens* become?
Is all thy el'quent breath, thy wond'rous boast
Of argument, in boundless Æther lost?
Earth gone to earth, the mould'ring substance must,
By slow degrees, dissolve to native Dust.
The cooler fluids, and the wat'ry part
That damp't thy blood, and quench'd thy noble heart,
Now leave the stiff unanimated clay,
And to their mother Ocean seek their way.
The purer genial pow'rs, the vital flame,
That mov'd and quicken'd the mechanick frame,
Is flown aloft, a spark, a borrow'd ray,
And reunit'd to the Prince of Day.

Oh! weep, Britannia's sons, your champion's dead.
The patron of your Liberty is fled.

O Liberty! thou Goddess heav'nly bright!
That dost impart thy radiant beams of light
To this blest Isle, which of thy darling train,
Will, like this Hero, thy just cause maintain?
How greatly brave has he undaunted stood
Against a torrent, an impetuous flood,

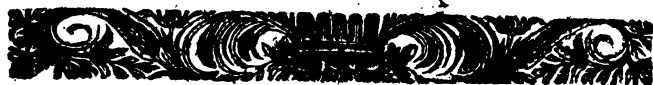
Of

* This ELEGY was publish'd some days after Mr. TOLAND's Death; and 'tis a matter of doubt with some people, whether the Author design'd to praise or to ridicule him.

A N E L E G Y.

Of bigotted Enthusiasts, and tricks
Of Pedantry, and priestly Politicks!
Thou pregnant Genius, who thy praise can tell?
Thy Reason did, like morning sun, dispel
Dark clouds of Ignorance, and break the spell
Of Rome's Inchantments, and the lesser frauds
Of Churches Protestant, and English LAUDS.
To thee we owe, to thy victorious hand,
A rescu'd People, and a ransom'd Land.
Thou hast broke off our manacles and chains,
And freed our minds of superstitious pains.
Thy shining lamp has brought resplendent day,
Finely describ'd the plain and easy way,
Clear'd of the rubbish of mysterious Schools,
And mazes intricate of pious fools,
Enslav'd to narrow Forms, and captivating Rules.
Oh! hadst thou liv'd to banish all the Dreams
Of fab'ulous Ages, and the Monkish Themes
Of Miracles, of Mysteries, and Tales,
(Where fancy over common sense prevails)
Then might we mourn thy fate with less concern,
With less regret behold thy sacred Urn.
Howe'er, thy great example has inspir'd
A noble emulation, it has fir'd
The glowing breasts of our Britannick Youth,
With love of Liberty, and love of Truth.
Thou hast not left us in the gloom of night,
Some Stars we have, that lend a friendly light,
That shed a kind, auspicious influence,
To cherish Reason, and to ripen Sense.

THE



THE
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A

A
SPECIMEN
OF THE
CRITICAL HISTORY
OF THE
CELTIC RELIGION
AND LEARNING:

CONTAINING

An Account of the DRUIDS, or the
Priests and Judges; of the VAIDS, or the
Diviners and Physicians; and of the BARDS,
or the Poets and Heralds of the antient
Gauls, Britons, Irish and Scots.

WITH THE

History of ABARIS *the Hyperborean,*
Priest of the SUN.

In THREE LETTERS
TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LORD

VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH:

VOL. I.

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THE
FIRST LETTER:
 TO
 THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
 THE LORD
 VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

I. OME men, MY LORD, from a natural greatness of soul, and others from a sense of the want of Learning in themselves, or the advantages of it in others, have many times liberally contributed towards the advancement of Letters. But when they, whose excellent natural parts are richly cultivated by sound Literature, undertake the protection of the Muses, writers feel

a double incouragement ; both as they are happily inabled to perfect their studies, and as their Patrons are true judges of their performances. 'Tis from this consideration alone (abstracted, MY LORD, from all that you have already done, or may hereafter deserve from your country, by an unshaken love of Liberty) that I presume to acquaint your Lordship with a design, which I form'd several years ago at Oxford, and which I have ever since kept in view ; collecting, as occasion presented, whatever might any way tend to the advantage or perfection of it. 'Tis to write *The History of the DRUIDS, containing an account of the antient CELTIC RELIGION and LITERATURE* ; and concerning which I beg your patience for a little while. Tho this be a subject, that will be naturally entertaining to the curious in every place ; yet it does more particularly concern the inhabitants of antient Gaule, (now France, Flanders, the Alpine regions, and Lombardy) and of all the British Islands, whose antiquities are here partly explain'd and illustrated, partly vindicated and restor'd. It will sound somewhat oddly, at first hearing, that a man born in the most northern (1) Peninsula of Ireland, shou'd undertake

(1) This peninsula is *Inis-Bogain*, vulgarly *Enis-owen*, in whose Isthmus stands the city of Londonderry, itself a peninsula, and, if the tradition be true, originally a famous Grove and School of the Druids. Hence comes the very name *Daire*, corruptly pronounc'd *Derry*, which in Irish signifies a Grove, particularly of Oaks. The great COLUMBA chang'd it into a College for Monks (who in his time were retir'd Laymen, that liv'd by the labor of their hands).

OF THE DRUIDS.

3

undertake to set the Antiquities of Gaule in a clearer light than any one has hitherto done. But when 'tis consider'd, that, over and above what he knows in common, relating to the DRUIDS, with the learned of the French nation; (whose works he constantly reads with uncommon esteem) he has also certain other advantages, which none of those writers have ever had: when this, I say, is consider'd, then

A 3

all

hands) as most commonly the sacred places of the Heathens, if pleasant or commodious, were converted to the like use by the Christians after their own manner. This Derry is the *Roboretum* or * *Campus roborum*, mention'd by BEDE in his *Ecclesiastical History*: but not *Ardmacha*, now *Armagh*, in the same province of Ulster, as many have erroneously conceiv'd; nor yet *Durrumb*, now *Durrumbi*, in that of Leinster, as some have no less groundlessly fancy'd, among whom Archbishop USHER. *Dearmach* is compounded of *Dair* an oak and the antient word *Mach* (now *Machaire*) a field. They who did not know so much, have imagin'd it from the mere sound to be *Armagh*, which, far from *Campus roborum*, signifies the height or mount of MACHA; (surnamed *Mongruadh* or redhair'd) a Queen of Ireland, and the only woman that ever sway'd the sovereign sceptre of that kingdom. But *Armagh* never was a monastery founded by COLUMBA, who in BEDE's time was call'd COLUIM-CILLE, as he's by the Irish to this day: whereas it was from the monasteries of Derry and *I-columkil* (which last, tho the second erected, became the first in dignity) that all the other monasteries dedicated to COLUMBA, whether in Scotland or Ireland, were so many colonies. This is attested by the just mention'd ** BEDE, no less than by all the Irish *Annalists* since their several foundations.

* *Fecerat autem [COLUMBA] prius quam in Britanniam veniret monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roburum Dearmach lingua Scotorum, hoc est campus roborum, vocatur. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 4.*

† Qui, videlicet COLUMBA, nunc a nonnullis, composito a Cella & Co-

lumba nomine, COLUMCILLI vocatur. Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 10.

** Ex quo utroque monasterio plurima exinde monasteria, per discipulos ejus, & in Britannia & in Hibernia propagata sunt; in quibus omnibus idem monasterium insularum, in quo ipse requiescit corporis principatum tenet. *Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 44.*

all the wonder about this affair will instantly cease. Yet let it be still remember'd, that whatever accomplishment may consist in the knowledge of languages, no language is really valuable, but as far as it serves to converse with the living, or to learn from the dead; and therefore were that knowledge of times and things contain'd in Lapponian, which we draw from the Grec, and that this last were as barren as the first: I shou'd then study Lapponian, and neglect Grec; for all its superiority over most tongues, in respect of sonorous pronunciation, copiousness of words, and variety of expression. But as the profound ignorance and slavery of the present Greeks does not hinder, but that their ancestors were the most learned, polite, and free of all European nations; so no revolution that has befallen any or all of the Celtic colonies, can be a just prejudice against the truly ancient and undoubted monuments they may be able to furnish, towards improving or restoring any point of Learning. Whether there be any such monuments or not, and how far useful or agreeable, will in the following sheets appear.

II. AMONG those Institutions which are thought to be irrecoverably lost, one is that of the DRUIDS; of which the Learned have hitherto known nothing, but by some Fragments concerning them out of the Grec and Roman authors. Nor are such Fragments always intelligible, because never explain'd by any of those,

who

OF THE DRUIDS.

who were skilled in the Celtic dialects, which are now principally six; namely *Welsh* or the insular British, *Cornish* almost extinct, *Armorican* or French British, *Irish* the least corrupted, *Manx* or the language of the Isle of Man, and *Erse* or Highland Irish, spoken also in all the western Islands of Scotland. These, having severally their own dialects, are, with respect to each other and the old Celtic of Gaul, as the several dialects of the German language and the Low Dutch, the Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Icelandic; which are all descendants of their common mother, the Gothic. Not that ever such a thing as a pure Gothic or Celtic language either did or could exist in any considerable region without dialects, no more than pure elements: but by such an original language is meant the common root and trunk, the primitive words, and especially the peculiar construction that runs thro' all the branches; whereby they are intelligible to each other, or may easily become so, but different from all kinds of speech besides. Thus the Celtic and the Gothic, which have been often taken for each other, are as different as Latin and Arabic. In like manner we conceive of the several idioms of the Græce language formerly, in Greece itself properly so call'd, in Macedonia, in Crete and the Islands of the Archipelago, in Asia, Rhodes, part of Italy, in Sicily, and Marseilles; and at this time of the Slavonian language, whose dialects not only prevail in Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Carinthia, and Ser-

THE HISTORY

via, but in a great many other places, too tedious to recite. But of this subject we shall treat professedly in a (2) *Dissertation* to be annex'd to the work, whereof I am giving your Lordship an account. Neither shall I in this *Specimen* dwell on some things, whereof I shall principally and largely treat in the design'd *History*; I mean, the Philosophy of the Druids concerning the Gods, human Souls, Nature in general, and in particular the heavenly Bodies, their magnitudes, motions, distances, and duration; whereof CESAR, DIODORUS SICULUS, STRABO, POMPONIUS MELA, and AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS write more specially than others. These subjects, I say, will be copiously handled and commented in my *History*. In the mean time I do assure you, MY LORD, from all authors, that no Heathen Priesthood ever came up to the perfection of the Druidical, which was far more exquisite than any other such system; as having been much better calculated to beget Ignorance and an Implicite disposition in the people, no less than to procure power and profit to the Priests, which is one grand difference between the true worship and the false. This Western Priesthood did infinitely exceed that of ZORASTER, and all the Eastern sacred policy; so that *the History of the Druids*, in short, is *the complete History of Priestcraft*, with all its reasons and resorts; which to distinguish accurately from right Religion, is not only the in-

(2) A DISSERTATION concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies.

terest

terest of all wise Princes and States, but likewise does specially concern the tranquillity and happiness of every private person. I have used the word *Priestcraft* here on purpose, not merely as being the best expression for the design'd abuse and reverse of Religion, (for Superstition is only Religion misunderstood) but also because the coining of the very word was occasion'd by the DRUIDS: since the Anglo-Saxons having learnt the word *Dry* (3) from the Irish and Britons for a *Magician*, did very appositely call *Magic* or Inchantment *Drycraft* (4); as being nothing else but trick and illusion, the fourbery of Priests and their confederates.

III. NOW, this Institution of the Druids I think myself, without any consciousness of vanity, much abler to retrieve (as having infinitely better helps in many respects, of which, before I have done) than Dr. HYDE was to restore the knowledge of the antient Persian Literature and Religion; which yet he left imperfect for want of due encouragement, as I have shown in the first chapter of *Nazarenus*. From undoubted Celtic monuments, join'd to the Grec and Roman remains, I can display the order of their Hierarchy, from the ARCH-DRUID down to the meanest of their four orders of Priests. Of these degrees, the ARCH-DRUID excepted, there's little to be found in the Classic authors,

(3) Pronounc'd as *Dree* in English.

(4) *Dry magus, Dry-craft incantatio. Ælfric. in Glossar.*

that

10 THE HISTORY

that treat of the Druids: but very much and very particularly, in the Celtic writings and monuments. For many reasons their History is most interesting and entertaining: I mean, as on the one hand we consider them seducing their followers, and as on the other hand we learn not to be so deceiv'd. They dextrously led the people blindfold, by committing no part of their Theology or Philosophy to writing, tho' great writers in other respects; but their dictates were only hereditarily convey'd from masters to disciples by traditionary Poems, interpretable (consequently) and alterable as they shou'd see convenient: which is a much more effectual way, than locking up a book from the Laity, that, one way or other, is sure to come first or last to their knowledge, and easy perhaps to be turn'd against the Priests. The Druids, as may be seen in the 6th book of *CESAR's Commentaries*, drew the decision of all controversies of Law and Equity to themselves, the distribution of all punishments and rewards; from the power that was first given, or afterwards assum'd by them, of determining matters of Ceremony and Religion. Most terrible were the effects of the Druidical (5) Excommunication on any man; that did not implicitly

(5) If the learned reader, who knows any of the passages, or the unlearned reader who wants authorities for proving the following assertions, should wonder I do not always cite them; let it be known to both, that as in this *Specimen* I commonly touch but the heads of things: (and not of all things neither) so I wou'd not crowd the margin with long passages

plicitely follow their directions, and submit to their decrees : not only to the excluding of private persons from all benefits of Society, and even from society itself ; but also to the deposing of the Princes who did not please them, and often devoting them to destruction. Nor less intolerable was their power of engaging the nation in war, or of making a disadvantageous and dishonourable peace ; while they had the address to get themselves exempted from bearing arms, paying taxes, or contributing any thing to the public but *Charms* : and yet to have their persons reputed sacred and inviolable, by those even of the contrary side, which veneration however was not always strictly paid. These privileges allur'd great numbers to enter into their communities, for such Sodalities or Fraternities they had ; and to take on them the Druidical profession, to be perfect in which, did sometimes cost them twenty years study. Nor ought this to seem a wonder, since to arrive at perfection in Sophistry requires a long habit, as well as in juggling, in which last they were very expert : but to be masters of both, and withal to learn the art of managing the

passages, nor yet curtail what in my *History* shall be produc'd at large : and therefore all the following citations (the original manner of writing Celtic words excepted) are either samples of; the quotations I shall give, or proofs of what I wou'd not for a moment have suspected to be precariously advanc'd, or, finally, for the better understanding of certain matters which come in by way of digression or illustration. Otherwise they wou'd not be necessary in a mere Specimen, tho' in a finish'd work indispensable.

mob,

mob, which is vulgarly call'd *leading the people by the nose*, demands abundant study and exercise.

IV. THE children of the several Kings, with those of all the Nobility, were committed to the tuition of the Druids, whereby they had an opportunity (contrary to all good politics) of molding and framing them to their own private interests and purposes ; considering which direction of Education, PATRIC, had they been a *landed Clergy*, wou'd not have found the conversion of Ireland so easy a task. So easy indeed it was, that the heathen Monarch LAOGIRIUS (who, as some assert, was never himself converted) and all the provincial Kings, granted to every man free liberty of preaching and professing Christianity. So that, as GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS remarks, this is the only country of Christians, where no body was oblig'd to suffer (6) Martyrdom for the *Gospel*. This justice therefore I wou'd do to Ireland, even if it had not been my country, *viz.* to maintain that this Tolerating principle, this *Impartial Liberty* (ever since unexampled there

(6) Omnes sancti terrae istius confessores sunt, & nullus martyr; quod in alio regno Christiano difficile erit invenire. Mirum itaque quod gens crudelissima & sanguinis sitibunda, fides ab antiquo fundata & semper tepidissima, pro Christi ecclesia corona martyrii nulla. Non igitur inventus est in partibus istis, qui ecclesiae surgentis fundamenta sanguinis effusione cementaret: non fuit, qui faceret hoc bonum; non fuit usque ad unum. *Topograph. Hibern. Distinct. 3. cap. 29.*

as well as elsewhere, China excepted) is a far greater honour to it, than whatever thing most glorious or magnificent can be said of any other country in the world. GIRALD on the contrary (as in his days they were wont to overrate Martyrdom, Celibacy, and the like, much above the positive duties of Religion) thinks it a reproach to the Irish, *that none of their Saints cemented the foundations of the growing Church with their blood, all of them being Confessors*, says he, *and not one able to boast of the crown of Martyrdom*. But who sees not the vanity and absurdity of this charge? It is blaming the Princes and People for their reasonableness, moderation and humanity; as it is taxing the new Converts for not seditiously provoking them to persecute, and for not madly running themselves to a voluntary death, which was the unjustifiable conduct of many elsewhere in the primitive times of Christianity. 'Tis on much better grounds, tho' with a childish and nauseous jingle, that he accuses the Irish Clergy of his own time: and so far am I from being an enemy to the Clergy, that I heartily wish the like could not be said of any Clergy, whether there, or here, or elsewhere, from that time to this. Well then: what is it? *They are Pastors*, says he (7), *who seek not to feed, but to be fed: Pre-*

(7) Sunt enim pastores, qui non pascere quaerunt, sed pasci: sunt praelati, qui non prodesse cupiunt, sed praesse: sunt episcopi, qui non omen, sed nomen; non onus, sed honorem amplectuntur. *Id. Ibid.*

lates, who desire not to profit, but to preside : Bishops, who embrace not the nature, but the name ; not the burthen, but the bravery of their profession. This, Mr LORD, I reckon to be no digression from my subject, since what little opposition there happen'd to be in Ireland to Christianity, was wholly made by the Druids, or at their instigation : and that when they perceiv'd this new Religion like to prevail, none came into it speedier, or made a more advantageous figure in it, than they. The Irish however have their *Martyrologies* (lest this shou'd be objected by some trifler) but they are of such of their nation as suffer'd in other countries, or under the heathen Danes in their own country, some hundreds of years after the total conversion of it to Christianity.

V. THOSE advantages we have nam'd in the two last Sections, and many the like articles, with the Druids pretences to work miracles, to foretel events by Augury and otherwise, to have a familiar intercourse with the Gods (highly confirm'd by calculating Eclipses) and a thousand impostures of the same (8) nature, I can by irrefragable authorities set in such a light, that all of the like kind may to every one appear in as evident a view ; which,

(8) The heads of the two last Sections, with these here mention'd (tho' conceiv'd in few words) will yet each make a separate chapter in the *History* ; this present *Specimen* being chiefly intended for modern instances, as by the sequel will appear.

as I have before, cannot but be very serviceable both to Religion and Morality. For true Religion does not consist in cunningly devised fables, in authority, dominion, or pomp; but in spirit and truth, in simplicity and social virtue, in a filial love and reverence, not in a servile dread and terror of the Divinity. As the fundamental Law of a Historian is, daring to say whatever is true, and not daring to write any falsehood; neither being sway'd by love or hatred, nor gain'd by favour or interest: so he ought of course to be as a man of no time or country, of no sect or party; which I hope the several nations, concern'd in this present enquiry, will find to be particularly true of me. But if in clearing up ancient rites and customs, with the origin and institution of certain religious or civil Societies (long since extinct) any communities or orders of men, now in being, shou'd think themselves touch'd; they ought not to impute it to design in the author, but to the conformity of things, if indeed there be any real resemblance; and in case there be none at all, they should not make people apt to suspect that there is, by crying out tho they are not hurt. I remember when complaint was made against an honourable person (9), that, in treating of the Heathen Priests, he had whipt some Christian Priests on their backs; all the answer he made was only

(9) Sir ROBERT HOWARD.

asking, *What made them get up there?* the benefit of which answer I claim beforehand to myself, without making or needing any other Apology. Yet if the correspondence of any Priests with heaven be as slenderly grounded as that of the Druids, if their miracles be as fictitious and fraudulent, if their love of riches be as immoderate, if their thirst after power be as insatiable, and their exercise of it be as partial and tyrannical over the Laity: then I am not only content they shou'd be touch'd, whether I thought of them or not; but that they shou'd be blasted too, without a possibility of ever sprouting up again. For Truth will but shine the brighter, the better its counterfeits are shown: and all that I can do to show my own candor, is, to leave the reader to make such applications himself, seldom making any for him; since he that is neither clear-sighted nor quick enough of conception to do so, may to as good purpose read the *Fairy-tales* as this *History*.

VI. BESIDES this impartial disposition, the competent knowledge I have of the Northern languages, dead and living (tho' I shall prove, that no Druids, except such as towards their latter end fled thither for refuge, or that went before with Celtic invaders or colonies, were ever among the Gothic nations) I say, these languages will not a little contribute to the perfection of my work, for a reason that may with more advantage appear in the book itself.

self. But the knowledge of the antient Irish, which I learnt from my childhood, and of the other Celtic dialects, in all which I have printed books or manuscripts (not to speak of their vulgar Traditions) is absolutely necessary; these having preserv'd numberless monuments concerning the Druids, that never hitherto have come to the hands of the learned. For as the Institutions of the Druids were formerly better learnt in Britain, by CESAR said to be the native seat of this superstitious race, than in Gaule where yet it exceedingly flourish'd: so their memory is still best preserv'd in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, comprehending the *Hebrida*, *Hebrides*, or Western Isles, among which the Ile of *Man*; where they continu'd long after their extermination in Gaule and South-Britain, mostly by the Romans, but finally by the introduction of Christianity. Besides, that much of the Irish Heathen Mythology is still extant in verse, which gives such a lustre to this matter, and of course to the Grec and Roman Fragments concerning the Druids, as cou'd not possibly be had any other way.

VII. THUS (to give an example in the Philological part) the controversy among the Grammarians, whether they should write *Druis* or (10) *Druida* in the nominative case singular,

(10) The Irish word for Druid is *Druí*, corruptly *Droí*, and more corruptly *Draoi*; yet all of the same sound, which in Etymologies is a great matter: and in the nominative plu-

can only be decided by the Irish writings, as you may see demonstrated in the margin; where all Grammatical remarks shall be inserted among the other *Notes* of the *History*, if they do not properly belong to the annexed *Dissertation concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies*. This conduct I observe, to avoid any disagreeable stop or perplexity in the work itself, by uncouth words or of difficult pronunciation. For as every thing in the Universe is the Subject of writing, so an author ought to treat of every subject smoothly and correctly, as well as pertinently and perspicuously: nor ought he to be void of ornament and Elegance, where his matter peculiarly requires it. Some things want a copious stile, some a concise; others to be more floridly, others to be more plainly handl'd: but all to be properly, methodically, and handsomly express'd. Neglecting these particulars, is neglecting, and consequently affronting, the reader. Let a

ral 'tis *Druidhe*, whence comes no doubt the Greek and Latin *Druides*; as *Druis* in the singular was form'd by only adding *s* to *Druis*, according to those nations way of terminating. But as these words in Irish as well as the Brittainish *Druidion*, are common to both sexes; so the Romans, according to their inflection, distinguish'd *Druidas* for a She-Druid (which sort are mention'd by authors) whereof the nominative plural being *Druidae*, it ought by us to be used in that sense only: and so I conclude, that in our modern Latin compositions *Druides* and *Druidae* shoud not be confounded; as they have frequently been by the Transcribers of old writings, who mistook others. We are not to be mov'd therefore by reading *Druidae* in any Latin author in the masculin gender, or in the Greek writers, who certainly us'd it so. All equivocation at least will be thus taken away.

Lady

Lady be as well-shap'd as you can fancy, let all her features be faultless, and her complexion be ever so delicate : yet if she be careless of her person, tawdry in her dress, or aukward in her gate and behavior, a man of true taste is so far from being touch'd with the charms of her body, that he's immediately prepossess'd against the beauties of her mind ; and apt to believe there can be no order within, where there's so much disorder without. In my opinion therefore, the *Muses* themselves are never agreeable company without the *Graces*. Or if, as your Lordship's stile is remarkably strong, you wou'd, with (11) CICERO, take this simile from a man ; you'll own 'tis not enough to make him be lik'd, that he has well-knit bones, nerves and sinews : there must be likewise proportion, muscling, and coloring, much blood, and some softness. To relate facts without their circumstances, whereon depends all Instruction ; is to exhibit a skeleton without the flesh, wherein consists all comeliness. This I say to your Lordship, not pretending to teach the art of writing to one, who's so fit to be my master ; but to obviate the censures of those, and to censure 'em in their turns, who not only do not treat of such subjects as I have now undertaken in a flowing and continu'd stile, but peremptorily deny the fields of Antiquity and Criticism to be capable of this culture : and indeed as suffering un-

(11) De Oratore, lib. 1.

der the drudgery of their hands, they generally become barren heaths or unpassable thickets ; where you are blinded with sand, or torn with bryars and brambles. There's no choice of words or expressions. All is low and vulgar, or obsolete and musty ; as the whole discourse is crabbed, hobbling, and jejune. Not that I wou'd have too much license taken in this respect ; for tho none ought to be slaves to any set of words, yet great judgement is to be employ'd in creating a new, or reviving an old word : nor must there be less discretion in the use of figures and sentences ; which, like imbroidery and salt, are to set off and season, but not to render the cloth invisible, or the meat uneatable. To conclude this point, we are told by the most eloquent of men, that a profuse (12) volubility, and a sordid exility of words, are to be equally avoided. And now after this Digression, if any thing that essentially relates to my task can be properly call'd one, I return to the Druids, who were so prevalent in Ireland, that to this hour their ordinary word for Magician is *Druid* (13), the art Magic is call'd *Druidity* (14), and the wand, which was one of the badges of their profession, *the rod of Druidism* (15). Among antient Classic authors PLINY is the most express concerning the Magic of the

(12) CICERO de Oratore, lib. 1.

(13) *Druí*.

(14) *Druidheacht*.

(15) *Slatnan Druidheacht*.

Druids, whereof the old Irish and Brittish Books are full: which Legerdemain, or secrets of Natural Philosophy (as all Magic is either the one, or the other, or both) we shall indeavor to lay open in our *History of the Druids*; not forgetting any old author that mentions them, for there's something particular to be learnt in every one of them, as they touch different circumstances. Having occasionally spoken of the Wand or Staff which every Druid carry'd in his hand, as one of the badges of his profession (and which in a chapter on this subject will be shown to have been a usual thing with all pretenders to magic) I must here acquaint you further, that each of 'em had what was commonly call'd the *Druid's Egg* (which shall be explain'd in the *History*) hung about his neck inchas'd in gold. They all wore short hair, while the rest of the natives had theirs very long: and, on the contrary, they wore long beards, while other people shav'd all theirs but the upper lip. They likewise all wore long habits, as did the Bards and the Voids: but the Druids had on a white Surplice, whenever they religiously officiated. In Ireland they, with the graduate Bards and Voids, had the privilege of wearing six colors in their *Breacans* or robes (which were the strip'd Braccæ of the Gauls, still worn by the Highlanders) whereas the King and Queen might have in theirs but seven, Lords and Ladies five, Governors of Fortresses four, Officers and young Gentlemen of quality three,

common Soldiers two, and common people one. This sumtuary Law most of the Irish Historians say, was enacted under King (16) ACHAIUS the first; tho others, who will have this to be but the reviving of an old Law, maintain it was first establisht by king TIGERNMHAS.

VIII. AS the Druids were commonly wont to retire into grots, dark woods, mountains, and (17) groves (in which last they had their numerous Schools, not without houses as some have foolishly dreamt,) so many such places in France, Britain, and Ireland, do still bear their names: as *Dreux*, the place of their annual General Assembly in France; *Kerig-y-Drudion* (or Druid-stones) a parish so call'd in Denbighshire, from a couple of their Altars there still remaining. In Anglesey there's the Village of *Tre'r Driú*, the town of the Druid, next to which is *Tre'r Beirdd* or Bards-town: as also in another place of the same Iland *Maen-y-Draú*, that is, the Druid's stone; and *Caer-Dreúin*, or the city of the Druids, in Merionethshire. The places in Ireland and the Hebrides are infinite. The present ignorant vulgar, in the first of the last-mention'd places, do believe, that those Inchanters were at last themselves enchanted by their Apostle PATRIC

(16) ECHOAID EUDGHATHACH.

(17) These Groves for pleasure and retirement, as well as for awe and reverence, were different from the lurking places in forests and caves, into which they were forc'd when interdicted in Gaule and Britain.

and

and his Disciples, miraculously confining them to the places that so bear their names; where they are thought to retain much power, and sometimes to appear, which are (18) fancies like the English notion of Fairies. Thus the Druid O MURNIN inhabits the hill of Creag-a-Vanny in Inisoën, AUNIUS (19) in Benavny from him so call'd in the county of Londonderry, and GEALCOSSA (20) in Gealcoffa's mount in Inisoën afore said in the county of Dunegall. This last was a Druidess, and her name is of the Homeric strain, signifying *White-legg'd* (21). On this hill is her grave (the true enchantment that confines her) and hard by is her Temple; being a sort of diminutive *Stonehenge*, which many of the old Irish dare not even at this day any way profane. I shall discover such things about these Temples (whereof multitudes are still existing, many of them intire, in the Hebrides, in Orkney, and on the opposite continent; as also many in Wales, in Jersey and Guernsey, and some in England and Ireland, the most remarkable to be accurately describ'd and delineated in our *History*)

(18) Such fancies came from the hiding of the persecuted Druids, from the reign of TIBERIUS, who made the first law against them (having been discountenanced by AUGUSTUS) but strictly put in execution by CLAUDIUS, and the following Emperors, till their utter extirpation by the general conversion of the people to Christianity.

(19) AIBHNE, or OIBHNE.

(20) GEALCHOSSACH.

(21) *Gnuc na* GEALCHOSSAIGH.

I shall discover such things, I say, about the famous Egg of the Druids, to the learned hitherto a riddle, not to speak of their magical gems and herbs : as also about their favourite All-heal or (22) Miffelto, gather'd with so much ceremony by a Priest in his white Surplice, as PLINY (23) tells us, and with a gold pruning-knife ; as well as about the abstrusest parts of their Philosophy and Religion, that the like has not yet appear'd in any author, who has treated of them. The books of such are either bare collections of Fragments, or a heap of precarious fables ; I mean especially some French writers on this Subject, as PICARD, FORCATULUS, GUENEBAUT, with others of no better allay in Britain and Germany ; for as I admit nothing without good authority, so I justly expect, that, without as good, nothing will be admitted from me,

IX. B U T, MY LORD, besides these Druids, the antient Gauls, Britons, and Irish, had another order of Learned men, call'd B A R D S, whereof we shall sufficiently discourse in our propos'd work. *Bard* is still the Irish and Scottish word, as *Bardh* the Armoric and Brittish. There's no difference in the pronounciation, tho', according to their different manner of writing in expressing the power of the letters, they vary a little in the

(22) All these heads will be so many intire Chapters.

(23) Sacerdos, candidâ veste cultus, arborem scandit : falce aureâ demetit. *Hist. Nat. lib. 16. cap. 44.*

orthography (24). The Bards were divided into three orders or degrees; namely (to give an example now in the Brittish dialect, as I shall give their turns to all the Celtic colonies) *Privardh*, *Posvardh*, and *Arúyvardh*: but, with regard to the subjects whereof they treated, they were call'd *Prududh*, or *Tevluúr*, or *Clerúr*; which words, with the equivalent Irish names, shall be explain'd in our *History*, where you'll find this division of the Bards well warranted. The first were Chronologers, the second Heralds, and the third Comic or Satyrical Poets among the vulgar: for the second sort did sing the praises of great men in the heroic strain, very often at the head of armies, like him in VIRGIL

*Cretea musarum comitem, cui carmina semper
Et citharaecordi, numerosque intendere nervis;
Semper equos, atq; arma virum, pugnasq;
canebat:*

Virg. Aen. lib. 9.

(24) Let it be noted once for all, that as in other tongues, so in Irish and Welsh particularly, *t* and *d* are commonly put for each other, by reason of their affinity; and that *dh* and *gh* being pronounc'd alike in Irish, and therefore often confounded, yet an exact writer will always have regard to the origin as well as to the analogy of any word: and so he'll write *Druidhe* (for example) and not *Druighe*, much less *Dræithe* broadly and aspirately; nor will he use any other misspellings, tho' ever so common in books. This is well observ'd by an old author, who writing of CONLA a heathen freethinking Judge of Connacht, thus characterizes him; *Se do rinne an choinbhliocht ris na Druidhibh*: 'twas he that disputed against the Druids. These Criticisms, some wou'd say, are trifles; but

Hæc nugæ in seria ducunt.

and

and the first, who likewise accompany'd them in peace, did historically register their genealogies and atchievements. We have some proofs that the Panegyrics of the Gallic Bards did not always want wit no more than flattery; and particularly an instance out of ATHENEUS, who had it from POSIDONIUS the Stoic, concerning (26) LUERNIUS a Gallic Prince, extraordinary rich, liberal, and magnificent. He was the father of that same BITTUS, who was beaten by the Romans. Now this LUERNIUS (says (27) my author) *having appointed a certain day for a feast, and one of the Barbarous Poets coming too late, met him as he was departing; whereupon he began to sing his praises and to extol his grandeur, but to lament his own unhapy delay. LUERNIUS being delighted, call'd for a purse of gold, which he threw to him, as he ran by the side of his chariot: and he taking it up, begun to sing again to this purpose; THAT OUT OF THE TRACKS HIS CHARIOT HAD PLOW'D ON THE GROUND, SPRUNG UP GOLD AND BLESSINGS TO MANKIND. As some of the Gallic Bards*

(26) Whether it be LUERNIUS, or as STRABO writes it LUERIUS, the name is frequent either way in the antientest Irish Writers, as LOARN, and LUIRE or LUIGHAIRE.

(27) Αφορισαντος δ' αὐτῆ προθεσμίας τότε τῆς θοῆς, ἀφυστη-
σαντα τινα τῶν βαρβαρῶν ποιητὴν ἀφικέσθαι; καὶ συναντήσαντα μετ'
ὧδὸς ὕμνειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν, ἑαυτὸν δ' ὑποθρηνεῖν ὅτι ὕστερ' ἦκε;
τόνδε τερψθέντα θυλακίον αὐτῆς αἰ χρυσοῦ, καὶ ρίψαι αὐτῷ παρατρέ-
χοντι; ἀνελόμενον δ' ἐκείνου πάλιν ὕμνειν, λεγόντα, διὸ καὶ τὰ ἔχρη
τῆς γῆς (ἐφ' ἧς ἄρματῆλατι) χρυσὸν καὶ εὐεργεσίας ἀνθρώποις φέρει.
Edit. Lugd. lib. 4. pag. 152.

WERC

were truly ingenious, so were many of 'em mere quiblers: and among the bombast of the Brittish and Irish Bards, there want not infinite instances of the true Sublime. Their Epigrams were admirable, nor do the modern Italians equal them in conceits. But in stirring the passions, their Elegies or Lamentations far exceed those of the Greeks, because they express nature much more naturally. These Bards are not yet quite extinct, there being of them in Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in Ireland: nor did any country in the world abound like the last with this sort of men, whose licentious panegyrics or satyrs have not a little contributed to breed confusion in the Irish History. There were often at a time a thousand *Ollaws* (28) or graduate Poets, besides a proportionable number of inferior Rhymers, who all of 'em liv'd most of the year on free cost: and, what out of fear of their railing, or love of their flattery, no body durst deny them any thing, be it armor, fewel, horse, mantle, or the like; which grew into a general custom, whereof the Poets did not fail to take the advantage. The great men, out of self love and interest, encourag'd no other kind of Learning, especially after they profess'd Christianity: the good regulation, under which they were in the time of Druidism, as then in some manner belonging to the Temples, having been destroyed with that Religion. In a small time they

(28) *Ollamh* is a Professor or Doctor in any faculty.

became such a grievance, that several attempts were made to rid the nation of them: and, which is something comical (what at least our present Poets would not extraordinarily like) the orders for banishing them were always to the Highlands of Scotland; while they were as often harbor'd in Ulster, till upon promise of amendment (of their manners I mean and not of their Poetry) they were permitted to return to the other Provinces. At last, in a general national assembly, or Parliament, at Drumcat (29) in the country we now call the county of Londonderry, under (30) AIDUS ANMIREUS the 11th Christian King, in the year 597, where was also present (31) AIDUS King of Scotland and the great (32) COLUMBA, it was decreed: that for the better preservation of their History, Genealogies, and the purity of their Language, the supreme Monarch, and the subordinate Kings, with every Lord of a Cantred, should entertain a Poet of his own (no more being allowed by antient law in the Island) and that upon each of these and their posterity a portion of land, free from all duties, shou'd be settl'd for ever; that, for encouraging the Learning these Poets and Antiquaries profess, public Schools shou'd be appointed and indow'd, under the national inspection; and that the Monarch's own Bard shou'd be ARCH-POET (33),

(29) *Druim-ceat* alias *Druimcheat*.

(30) AODHMHAC AINMHIRE.

(31) AODHANMHAC GAURAIN.

(32) COLUIM-CILLE.

(33) *Ard-Ollamb*.

and

and have super-intendency over the rest. 'Tis a common mistake, into which father PEZRON has fallen among others, that the Bards belong'd to the body of the Druids: but this is not the place to rectify it. They made Hymns for the use of the Temples, 'tis true, and manag'd the Music there; but they were the Druids that officiated as Priests, and no Sacrifices were offer'd but by their ministry.

X. IN the *History* likewise shall be fully explain'd the third order of the Celtic Literati, by the Greeks call'd O U A T E I S, and by the Romans V A T E S; which yet is neither Grec nor Roman, but a mere Celtic word; viz. FAIDH, which signifies to this day a prophet in all Irish books, and in the common language, particularly in the Irish translation of the Bible; where *Druids* (34) are also commonly put for Inchanters, as those of Egypt, and especially for the *Mages*, or as we translate, *the wise men* (35) that came from the east, to visit JESUS in his cradle. So easily do men convey their own ideas into other men's books, or find 'em there; which has been the source of infinite mistakes, not onely in Divinity, but also in Philosophy and Philology. The Celtic (36) V A I D S were Physicians

(34) *Druidhe*. Exod. 7. 11. Anois Druidhe na Héigpte dor innewdursanfós aran modhgceadna le nandroigheachtuibh.

(35) Mat. 2. 1. Feuch Tangadar Druidhe o naird shoir go Hiarusalem.

(36) The word is *Faidh* (or *Vait* by the usual conversion of the Letters F into V and D into T) whence the Latins

made

and Diviners, great proficient in natural Philosophy (as were likewise the Druids, who had the particular inspection of Morals) but C I C E R O, who was well acquainted with one of the prime Druids, remarks, that their predictions were as much grounded on (37) conjecture, as on the rules of Augury: both equally fortuitous and fallacious. For the saying of EURIPIDES will ever hold true, that (38). *the best guesser is the best Prophet*. He that is nearly acquainted with the state of affairs, that understands the springs of human actions, and, that, judiciously allowing for circumstances, compares the present time with the past: he, I say, will make a shrewd guess at the future. By this time, MY LORD, you begin to perceive what is to be the Subject of the *History* I intend to write; which, tho a piece of general Learning and great curiosity, yet I shall make it my business so to digest: as to render it no less intertaining than instructive to all sorts of readers, without excepting the Ladies, who are pritty much concern'd in this

made *Vates*; and their Critics acknowledge, that they took many words from the Gauls. The *Euhages* and *Eubages*, in some copies of AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, are false readings, as in time will appear. So are *Druſi*, *Druſides*, and *Druſiades* for *Druides*: as likewise *Vardi*, from the British and Irish oblique cases of *Bard*.

(37) Siquidem & in Gallia Druides sunt, e quibus ipse DIVITIACUM Aeduum, hospitem tuum laudatoremque, cognovi (*inquit* QUINTUS) qui & naturae rationem, quam physiologiam Graeci appellant, notam esse sibi proferebatur; & partim Auguriis, partim conjecturâ, quae essent futura dicebat. *De Divinat. lib. 1. cap. 41.*

(38) Μαντις αριςτος, οστις εικαζει καλως.

matter;

matter; throwing, as I told you before, all my Critical Observations, and Disquisitions about words, into the margin, or the *Dissertation* annexed to the *History*. As to what I say of the Ladies being concern'd in this *History*, there were not only Druidesses; but some even of the highest rank were such, and Princesses themselves were educated by the Druids: for in our own *Annals* we read, that the two daughters of King (39) LAOGIRIUS (in whose reign PATRIC preach'd Christianity) were educated by them; and we have the particulars of a long dispute those young Ladies maintained against this new Religion, very natural but very subtil. Several other Ladies bred under the Druids became famous for their writings and proficiency in learning, of some of whom we shall occasionally give an account: but lest I shou'd be thought in every thing to flatter the Sex, 'how much soever I respect them, I refer the reader to a story in my third *Letter*. But, in order to complete my design, so as to leave no room for any to write on this subject after me; and also to procure several valuable *Manuscripts*, or authentic copies of them (well knowing where they ly) I purpose towards the Spring to take a journey for at least six months: which, at our next meeting, I shall do my self the honour to impart to your Lordship very particularly.

(39) LAOGHAIRE.

XI. THE Irish (a few Scandinavian and Danish words excepted) being not only a Dialect of the antient Celtic or Gallic, but being also liker the mother than her other daughter the British; and the Irish Manuscripts being more numerous and much antienter than the Welsh, shows beyond all contradiction the necessity of this language for retrieving the knowledge of the Celtic Religion and Learning. CAMDEN and others have long since taken notice of the agreement between the present British and those old Gallic words collected by learned men out of Grec and Roman authors: and the industrious Mr. EDWARD LHUYD, late keeper of the *Museum* at Oxford, perceiv'd this affinity between the same words and the Irish, even before he study'd that language, by the demonstration I gave him of the same in all the said instances. Nor does he deny this agreement in *the comparative Etymologicon* he afterwards made of those languages, where he quotes CAMDEN and BOXHORNIIUS affirming it about the Gallic and British: *but there being*, says he (40), *no Vocabulary extant* [meaning no doubt in print] *of the Irish, or antient Scottish, they could not collate that language therewith, which the curious in these studies will now find to agree rather more than ours, with the Gaulish.* That it does so, is absolute fact, as will be seen by hundreds of instances in this present work.

(40) In the preface to his *Archeologia Britannica*, pag. 1.

I

I am aware that what I am going to say will sound very oddly, and seem more than a paradox; but I deserve, MY LORD, and shall be content with your severest censure, if, before you have finish'd reading these sheets, you be not firmly of the same mind your self: namely, that, without the knowledge of the Irish Language and Books, the Gallic Antiquities (not meaning the Francic) can never be set in any tolerable light, with regard either to words or to things; and numerous occasions there will occur in this *History* of illustrating both words and things even in the Grec and Roman authors. I shall here give one example of this, since I just come from treating of the several professors of Learning common to the antient Gauls, Britons, and Scots, viz. the Druids, Bards, and Vuids. LUCIAN (41) relates that in Gaule he saw HERCULES represented as a little old man, whom in the language of the country they call'd OGMIOUS; drawing after him an infinite multitude of persons, who seem'd most willing to follow, tho drag'd by extreme fine and almost imperceptible chains: which were fasten'd at the one end to their ears, and held at the other, not in either of HERCULES's hands, which were both otherwise imploy'd; but ty'd to the tip of his tongue, in which there was a hole on purpose, where all those chains center'd. LUCIAN wondring at this manner of

(41) Τον Ἑρακλέα δι Κέλτοι ΟΓΜΙΟΝ ονομαζουσι Φωνή πη ἐπι-
 χερει, et quae sequuntur in HERCULE GALLICO: Graeca
 etenim longiora sunt, quàm ut hic commodè inseri possint.

portraying HERCULES, was inform'd by a learned Druid who stood by, that HERCULES did not in Gaule, as in Greece, betoken *Strength of Body*, but the *Force of Eloquence*; which is there very beautifully display'd by the Druid, in his explication of the picture that hung in the Temple. Now, the Critics of all nations have made a heavy pother about this same word O G M I U S, and laboriously sought for the meaning of it every where, but just where it was to be found. The most celebrated BOCHART, who, against the grain of nature (if I may so speak) wou'd needs reduce all things to Phenician; says it is an Oriental word, since the Arabians (42) call strangers and barbarians *Agemion*: as if, because the Phenicians traded antiently to Gaule and the Brittish Ilands (for Colonies in them they planted none) they must have also imported their Language; and, with their other commodities, barter'd it for something to the natives, naming their places, their men, and their Gods for them. Our present Britons, who are at least as great Traders, do not find they can do so in Phenicia, nor nearer home in Greece and Italy, nor yet at their own doors in this very Gaule: besides that LUCIAN does positively affirm O G M I U S was a Gallic word, *a word* (43) *of the country*. This has not hinder'd a learned English Physician, Dr. EDMUND DICKENSON, from hunting still in the East for a derivation of it; conjecturing

(42) In *Geographia Sacra, sive Canaan*, part. 2. cap. 42.

(43) Φωνη τη επιχαρι. *Ubi supra*.

HERCULES to be (44) JOSHUA, who was sur-named OGMIOUS, for having conquer'd OG King of Bashan :

*O ! sanctas gentes ! quibus haec nascuntur
in hortis*

Numina.

JUVENAL. *Sat.* 15. ver. 10.

I could make your Lordship yet merryer, or rather angrier, at these forc'd and far-fetch'd Etymologies, together with others hammer'd as wretchedly out of Greec, nay even out of Suedish and German. But the word OGMIOUS, as LUCIAN was truely inform'd, is pure Celtic; and signifies (to use TACITUS's (45) phrase about the Germans) *the Secret of Letters*, particularly the Letters themselves, and consequently the Learning that depends on them, from whence the FORCE OF ELOQUENCE procedes: so that HERCULES OGMIOUS is *the learned HERCULES*, or HERCULES *the Protector of Learning*, having by many been reputed himself a (46) Philosopher.

(44) JOSUAM quoque spectasse videtur illud nomen, quo Galli antiquitus HERCULEM nuncupabant. Unde verò Ογμιος ? Annon ab OG victo ? *Delph. Phoenicizant. cap. 3.*

(45) Literarum Secreta viri pariter ac foeminae ignorant. *De moribus Germanorum, cap. 19.*

(46) Εν δε τοις χρόνοις της βασιλειας τυ Φοινικος ην Έρακλης, δ Φιλοσοφος Τυριος, ός τις εφευρε την κογχυλην, &c. *Palaeophati fragmentum in Chronico Alexandrino.* Έρακλης Αλκιμνης υιος. Τουτου Φιλοσοφον Ισορουσι, &c. *Suidas in voce Έρακλης.* Et diu ante SUIDAM audiebat apud HERACLITUM, in Allegoriis HOMERICIS, Ανηρ εμφρων, και σοφιας ουρανιου μυσης, όσπερι κατα βαθειας αχλυν επιθεδουκιαν εφωτιζε την φιλοσοφιαν, καθάτερ έμολογοει κα, Στωικών έι δοκιμωτατοι.

To prove this account of the word, so natural and so apt, be pleas'd to understand, that, from the very beginning of the Colony, O G U M, sometimes written O G A M, and also (47) O G M A, has signify'd in Ireland the Secret of Letters, or *the Irish Alphabet*; for the truth of which I appeal to all the antient Irish Books, without a single exception. 'Tis one of the most authentic words of the language, and originally stands for this notion alone. Indeed after PATRIC had converted the nation, and, for the better propagating of Christian Books, introduc'd the use of the Roman Letters (instead of the antient manner of writing) their primitive Letters, very different from those they now use, began by degrees to grow obsolete; and at last legible only by Antiquaries and other curious men, to whom they stood in as good stead as any kind of occult characters; whence it happen'd that O G U M, from signifying the *secret of writing*, came to signify *secret writing*, but still principally meaning the original Irish Characters. There are several Manuscript Treatises extant, describing and teaching the various methods of this secret Writing; as one in the College-Library of (48) Dublin, and another in that of his Grace

(47) As in the Dublin College Manuscript, to be presently cited.

(48) 'Tis, among other pieces, in *the Book of Ballimore*; being the 255th volum in the Dublin Catalogue, in parchment, folio, D. 18.

the Duke of (49) CHANDOIS. Sir JAMES WARE, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, relating how *the antient Irish did, besides the vulgar characters, practise also divers ways and arts of occult writing, call'd O G U M, in which they wrote their secrets*; I have, continues (50) he, *an antient parchment Book full of these*, which is the same just now said to belong to the Duke of CHANDOIS: and DUDLEY (51) FORBES, a hereditary Antiquary, wrote to the rather laborious than judicious Chronogist (52) O FLAHERTY, in the Year 1683, that he had some of the primitive (53) *Birch-tables* (for those they had before the use of parchment or paper) and many sorts of the old occult writing by him. These are principally the *Ogham-beith*, the *Ogham-coll*, and the (54) *Ogham-craoth*, which last is the old one and the true. But that the primary Irish Letters, the Letters first in common use, which in the manner we have shown, became accidentally occult, were originally meant by the word O G U M; besides the appeal made above to all antient authors, is plain in particu-

(49) Anonymi cujusdam Tractatus de variis apud Hibernos veteres occultis scribendi formulis, Hibernicè OGUM dictis.

(50) Praeter characteres vulgares utebantur etiam veteres Hiberni variis occultis scribendi formulis seu artificiis, OGUM dictis, quibus secreta sua scribebant: his refer- tum habeo libellum membranaceum antiquum. Cap. 2.

(51) DUALTACH MHAC FIRBIS.

(52) RUDHRUIGH O FLAITH-BHEARTUIGH.

(53) *Ogygia, part. 3. cap. 30.*

(54) *Ogum-branches.*

lar from FORCHERN, a noted Bard and Philosopher, who liv'd a little before CHRIST. This learned man ascribing with others the invention of Letters to the Phenicians, or rather more strictly and properly to PHENIX (whom the Irish call FENIUS *farfaidh*, or PHENIX *the antient*) says, that, among other Alphabets, as the Hebrew, Grec, and Latin, he also compos'd that of (55) *Bethluifnion an Oghuim*, the *Alphabet of Ogum*, or the Irish Alphabet, meaning that he invented the first Letters, in imitation of which the Alphabets of those Nations were made. O G U M is also taken in this sense by the best modern writers: as WILLIAM (56) O DONELL, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, in his preface to the Irish *New Testament*, dedicated to King JAMES the First, and printed at Dublin in the Year 1602, speaking of one of his assistants, says, that *he enjoind him to write the other part according to the Ogum and propriety of the Irish tongue*; where O G U M must necessarily signify the Alphabet, Orthography, and true manner of writing Irish. From all this it is clear, why among the Gauls, of whom the Irish had their Language and Religion, HERCULES, as the protector of Learning, shou'd be call'd OGMIVS, the termination alone being Grec. Nor is this all. OGMA was not only a known proper

(55) FENIUS FARSAIDH. *Alphabeti prima Hebraeorum, Graecorum, Latinorum, et Bethluifnion AN OGHUIM, composuit. Ex FORCHERNI libro, octingentis retro annis Latine reddito.*

(56) WILLIAM O DOMENVILL.

name in Ireland, but also one of the most antient; since OGMAGRIANANN, the father of King (57) DALBOETIUS, was one of the first of the Danannan race, many ages before LUCIAN's time. He was a very learned man, marry'd to EATHNA a famous Poetess, who bore, besides the fore-mention'd Monarch, CAIRBRE likewise a Poet: insomuch that OGMAGRIANANN, which is to say *Phebean*, where you may observe Learning still attending this name. The Celtic Language being now almost extinct in Gaule, except onely in lower Brittany, and such Gallic words as remain scatter'd among the French; subsists however intire in the several (59) dialects of the Celtic Colonies, as do the words *Ogum* and OGMAGRIANANN particularly in Irish. Nor is there any thing better known to the learned, or will appear more undeniable in the sequel of this work, than that words lost in one dialect of the same common language, are often found in another: as a Saxon word (for example) grown obsolete in Germany, but remaining yet in England, may be also us'd in Switzerland; or another word grown out of date in England, and flourishing still in Denmark, continues likewise in Iceland. So most of the antiquated English words are more or

(57) DEALBHAOITH.

(58) *Grian* is the Sun, and *Grianann* Sun-like, or belonging to the Sun.

(59) These are Brittonish, Welsh, Cornish, Irish, Manks, and Earle.

less corruptly extant in Friezland, Jutland, and the other Northern countries ; with not a few in the Lowlands of Scotland, and in the old English Pale in Ireland,

XII. NOW, from the name of HERCULES let's come to his person, or at least to the person acknowledg'd to have been one of the Heros worship'd by the Gauls, and suppos'd by the Greeks and Romans to be HERCULES. On this occasion I cannot but reflect on the opposite conduct, which the Learned and the Unlearned formerly observ'd, with respect to the Gods and divine matters. If, thro the ignorance or superstition of the people, any fable, tho ever so gross, was generally receiv'd in a Religion ; the Learned being asham'd of such an absurdity, yet not daring openly to explode any thing wherein the Priests found their account, explain'd it away by emblems and allegories importing a reasonable meaning, of which the first authors never thought : and if the Learned on the other hand, either to procure the greater veneration for their dictates, or the better to conceal their sentiments from the profane Vulgar, did poetically discourse of the Elements and qualities of Matter, of the Constellations or the Planets, and the like effects of Nature, veiling them as persons ; the common sort immediately took them for so many persons in good earnest, and render'd 'em divine worship under such forms, as the Priests judg'd fittest to represent them. Ob-
jects

jects of divine worship have been coin'd out of the rhetorical flights of Orators, or the flattering addresses of Panegyrist: even metaphors and epithets have been transform'd into Gods, which procur'd mony for the Priests as well as the best; and this by so much the more, as such objects were multiply'd. This is the unavoidable consequence of deviating ever so little from plain TRUTH, which is never so heartily and highly reverenc'd, as when appearing in her native simplicity; for as soon as her genuine beauties are endeavor'd to be heightn'd by borrow'd ornaments, and that she's put under a disguise in gorgeous apparel: she quickly becomes, like others affecting such a dress, a mercenary prostitute, wholly acting by vanity, artifice, or interest, and never speaking but in ambiguous or unintelligible terms; while the admiration of her Lovers is first turn'd into amazement, as it commonly ends in content and hatred. But over and above the difficulty, which these proceedings have occasion'd in the History of antient Time, there arises a greater from Time itself destroying infinite circumstances, the want whereof causes that to seem afterwards obscure, which at the beginning was very clear and easy. To this we may join the preposterous emulation of nations, in ascribing to their own Gods or Heros, whatever qualities were preeminent in those of others. That most judicious writer (57) *about*

(57) Φουρνουτου θεωρια περι της των θεων φυσικης, vulgò: sed, ut RAVII codex & Vaticanus legunt (notante doctissimò GALEO) verus titulus est Κορνουτου επιδρομη των κα'α την Έλληνικην θεωριαν παραδιδωμενων.

the nature of the Gods, commonly call'd PHURNUTUS (tho his true name was CORNUTUS, a Stoic Philosopher) whom I shall have frequent occasion to quote hereafter, "owns the great
 " (58) variety, and consequently the perplexed-
 " ness and obscurity, that occurs in the History
 " of HERCULES; whereby it is difficult to
 " know certainly what were his real atchiev-
 " ments, or what were fabulously father'd up-
 " on him: but having been an excellent Ge-
 " neral, who had in diverse countries signa-
 " liz'd his valor, he thinks it not probable,
 " that he went onely arm'd with a Lion's
 " skin and a Club; but that he was repre-
 " sented after his death with these, as sym-
 " bols of generosity and fortitude, for which
 " reason also he was pictur'd with a bow and
 " arrows." To this let me add, that several
 valiant men in several nations having, in imi-
 tation of some one man any where, been cal-
 led or rather surnam'd Hercules; not only the
 works of many, as subduing of Tyrants, ex-
 terminating of wild beasts, promoting or exer-
 cising of commerce, and protecting or improv-
 ing of Learning have been ascrib'd to one:

(58) Το δε δυσδιακριτὰ γεγονέναι τα τῷ θεῷ ἰδία, ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τοῦ
 Ἡρώδους ἰσορουμένων. Ταχὺ δ' αὖν ἡ λεοντὴ καὶ τὸ ροκάλον ἐκ τῆς πα-
 λαιᾶς θεολογίας ἐπὶ τοῦτον μετένηνεγμένα εἰσι; ἐρᾶν γὰρ αὐτοῦ γε-
 νομένου ἀγαθόν, καὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς μετὰ δυνάμει ἐκελθόντα,
 οὐχ' οἶόν τε γυμνὸν εἶδοσαν περιεληλυθέναι ξυλφί μόνῳ ὥπλισμένον: ἀλλὰ
 τοῖς * ἐπισήμοις τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ τοῦ ἀπαθανάτιστον, ὑπὸ τῶν εὐεργε-
 τούμενων κεκοσμησθαι; συμβολὴν γὰρ ἕκαστον εἰς ῥώμην καὶ γενναίον
 τῆτος. *Θ. σ. σαρ. 31.*

* Alii πίονοις.

but

but that also wherever any robust person was found represented with a skin and a club, a bow and arrows, he was straight deem'd to be HERCULES; whence the Egyptian, the Indian, the Tyrian, the Cretan, the Grecian or Theban, and the Gallic HERCULES. This was a constant way with the Greeks and Romans, who (for example) from certain resemblances perfectly accidental, conjectur'd that ISIS was honour'd by the (59) Germans, and BACCHUS worship'd by the (60) Jews, which last notion is refuted even by their enemy (61) TACITUS. Such superficial discoveries about the *Celtic Divinities* I shall abundantly expose. Yet that *Ogmios* might be really the Grecian HERCULES, well known in Gaule, it will be no valid exception that he was by the Druids Theologically made the Symbol of the *Force of Elatence*, for which that country has been ever distinguish'd and esteem'd: since even in Greece he was, as PHURNUTUS assures us, mystically accounted (62) *that Reason which is diffus'd thro*

(59) Pars Suevorum & Ildi sacrificat. Unde causa et origo peregrino sacro parum comperi; nisi quod signum ipsum, in modum Liburnae figuratum, docet advectam Religionem. TACIT. *de mor. German. cap. 9.*

(60) PLUTARCH. *Symposiac. lib. 4.* quem prolixius differentem otiosus consulas, lector.

(61) Quia sacerdotes eorum tibiâ tympanisque concinebant, hederâ vinciebantur, vitisque aurea templo reperta, Liberum patrem coli, domitorem Orientis, quidam arbitrati sunt, nequaquam congruentibus institutis: quippe Liber festos lætisque ritus posuit, Judaeorum mos absurdus sordidusque. *Lib. 5. cap. 5.*

(62) 'Ηρακλής δε εστιν ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις λόγος, καθ' ἣν φύσιν ισχυρὰ καὶ κραταῖα εἰναι, ἀνικτὸς καὶ ἀπεριγεννήτος οὖσα: μεταδοτικός ισχύος, καὶ τῆς παρὰ μέρος ἀλκῆς ὑπαρχῶν. *Ubi supra.*

all things, according to which Nature is vigorous and strong, invincible and ever-generating; being the power that communicates virtue and firmness to every part of things. The Scholiast of APOLLONIUS affirms, that the natural Philosophers understood by HERCULES, *the (63) intelligence and permanence of beings*: as the Egyptians held him to be (64) *that Reason, which is in the whole of things, and in every part.* Thus the Learned allegoriz'd away among others (as I said before) the fabulous atchievements and miraculous birth of this Hero, on which we shall however touch again, when we come to explain the Heathen humor of making all extraordinary persons the Sons of Gods, and commonly begot on Virgins; tho this last is not the case of HERCULES, who was feign'd to be the Son of JUPITER by ALCMENA, another man's wife. This wou'd be reckon'd immoral among men, but JUPITER (said the Priests) can do with his own what he pleases: which reason, if it contented the husbands, cou'd not displease the batchelors, who might chance to be sometimes JUPITER's substitutes. The Druidical allegory of OGMIOUS, or the Gallic HERCULES, which in its proper place I shall give you at large, is extremely beautiful: and as it concerns that

(63) Παρά τοις Φυσικοῖς ὁ Ἡρακλῆς συνεσις καὶ ἀληθὴ λαμβανέται.

(64) Τοῦ ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ διὰ πάντων, λόγον, non ἥλιον, ut corruptè legi cum GALEO suspicor in MACROBIO, *Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 20.*

Eloquence whereof you are so consummate a master, cannot but powerfully charm you.

XIII. IN the mean time 'tis probable your Lordship will be desirous to know, whether, besides the language and traditions of the Irish, or the Monuments of Stone and other materials which the country affords, there yet remain any Literary records truly antient and unadulterated, whereby *the History of the Druids*, with such other points of antiquity, may be retriev'd, or at least illustrated? This is a material question, to which I return a clear and direct answer; that not onely there remain very many antient Manuscripts undoubtedly genuine, besides such as are forg'd, and greater numbers (65) interpolated, several whereof are in Ireland itself, some here in England, and others in the Irish Monasteries abroad: but that, notwithstanding the long state of barbarity in which that nation hath lain, and after all the rebellions and wars with which the kingdom has been harraß'd; they have incomparably more antient materials of that kind for their history (to which even their Mythology is not unserviceable) than either the English, or the French, or any other European nation, with whose Manuscripts I have any acquaint-

(65) As the *Uraiceacht na neigios*, i. e. the Accidence of the Artists, or the Poets; which being the work of FORCHERN before-nam'd, was interpolated, and fitted to his own time, by CEANN FAOLADH the Son of OILIOLL, in the Year of *Christ* 628.

tance.

tance. Of these I shall one day give a Catalogue, marking the places where they now ly, as many as I know of them; but not meaning every Transcript of the same Manuscript, which wou'd be endless, if not impossible. In all conditions the Irish have been strangely solicitous, if not to some degree superstitious, about preserving their books and parchments; even those of them which are so old, as to be now partly or wholly unintelligible. Abundance thro over care have perished under ground, the concealer not having skill, or wanting searcloath and other proper materials for preserving them. The most valuable pieces, both in verse and prose, were written by their Heathen ancestors; whereof some indeed have been interpolated after the prevailing of Christianity, which additions or alterations are nevertheless easily distinguish'd: and in these Books the rites and formularies of the Druids, together with their Divinity and Philosophy; especially their two grand doctrines of the Eternity and Incorruptibility of the Universe, and the incessant Revolution of all beings and forms, are very specially, tho sometimes very figuratively express'd. Hence their *Allanimator* and *Transmigration*. Why none of the Natives have hitherto made any better use of these treasures; or why both they, and such others as have written concerning the History of Ireland, have onely entertain'd the world with the fables of it (as no country wants a fabulous account of its original, or the succession of its Princes)

Princes) why the modern Irish Historians, I say, give us such a medly of relations, unpick'd and unchosen, I had rather any man else shou'd tell. The matter is certainly ready, there wants but will or skill for working of it; separating the Dross from the pure Ore, and distinguishing counterfeit from sterling coin. This in the mean time is undeniable, that Learned men in other places, perceiving the same dishes to be eternally serv'd up at every meal, are of opinion that there is no better fare in the country; while those things have been conceal'd from them by the ignorant or the lazy, that would have added no small ornament even to their classical studies. Of this I hope to convince the world by the lustre, which, in this work, I shall impart to the Antiquities not only of Gaule and Britain, but likewise to numerous passages of the Grecic and Latin authors. How many noble discoveries of the like kind might be made in all countries, where the use of Letters has long subsisted! Such things in the mean time are as if they were not: for

Paulum sepultae distat inertiae

Celata virtus.

HORAT. lib. 4. Od. 9.

The use of Letters has been very antient in Ireland, which at first were cut on the bark of trees (66), prepar'd for that purpose; or on

(66) *Ornium.*

smooth

smooth tables of birch-wood, which were call'd (67) *Poets tables* ; as their characters were in general nam'd (68) *twigs* and *branch-letters*, from their shape. Their Alphabet was call'd *Beth-luis-nion*, from the three first Letters of the same, B, L, N, *Beth*, *Luis*, *Nion* (69) : for the particular name of every Letter was, for memory-sake, from some tree or other vegetable ; which, in the infancy of writing on barks and boards, was very natural. They had also many characters signifying whole words, like the Egyptians and the Chinese. When PATRIC introduc'd the Roman Letters (as I said above) then, from a corruption of *Abcedarium*, they call'd their new Alphabet (70) *Aibghittir* ; which, by the Monkish writers, has been Latiniz'd (71) *Abgetorium*. But there flourish'd a great number of Druids, Bards, Voids, and other authors in Ireland long before PATRIC's arrival ; whose Learning was not only more extensive, but also much more useful than that of their Christian

(67) *Taibhle Fíleadh.*

(68) *Feadha : Craobh-Ogham.*

(69) *Birch, Quicken, and Ash.*

(70) At first it was very analogically pronounc'd *Ab-ke-dair*, since the Letter C then in Latin, as still in Irish and British, had the force of K no less before E and I, than before A, O, U ; having never been pronounc'd like S by the antient Romans, who said KIKERO, *kenseo*, *koechus*, but not SISERO, *senseo*, *soecus*, when the words CICERO, *censeo*, *coecus*, or such like occur'd : so that *Abkedair* did naturally liquidate into *Aibghittir*, in the manner that all Grammarians know.

(71) *Scriptit Abgetoria [scilicet Patricius] 355, et eo amplius numero. NENN. Hist. Britan. cap. 59.*

Poste-

Posterity : this last sort being almost wholly imploy'd in Scholastic Divinity, Metaphysical or Chronological Disputes, Legends, Miracles, and Martyrologies, especially after the eighth century. Of all the things committed to writing by the Heathen Irish, none were more celebrated, or indeed in themselves more valuable, than their Laws; which were deliver'd, as antiently among some other nations, in short sentences, commonly in verse, no less reputed infallible Oracles than the Lacedemonian *Re-thræ* (72) : and, what's remarkable, they are expressly term'd (73) *Celestial Judgements*, for the pronouncing of which, the most famous were FORCHERN, NEID, CONLA, EOGAN, MODAN, MORAN, King CORMAC, his Chief Justice FITHIL, FACHMA, MAINE, ETHNEA the daughter of AMALGAD, and many more. These *Celestial Judgements* were only preserv'd in traditionary Poems, according to the institution of the Druids, till committed to writing at the command of (74) CONCOVAR King of Ulster; who dy'd in the year of CHRIST 48, whereas PATRIC begun his Apostleship but in the year 432. The Poets that wrote were numberless, of whose works several pieces remain still intire, with diverse Fragments of others. The three greatest encouragers of Learning among the Heathen Irish Monarchs were,

(72) *Πύθραι.*(73) *Breatha nimhe.*(74) CONCHOBHAR NESSAN, i. e. *Mac NEASSA.*

first, King (75) ACHAIUS (surnamed *The Doctor of Ireland*) who is said to have built at Tarah an Academy, call'd *The Court of the Learned* (76). 'Twas he that ordain'd, for every principal family, hereditary Antiquaries; or, in case of incapacity, the most able of the same historical house, with rank and privileges immediately after the Druids. The next promoter of Letters was King (77) TUATHALIUS, whose surname is render'd BONAVENTURA (tho not so properly) and who appointed a triennial revision of all the Antiquaries Books, by a Committee of three Kings or great Lords, three Druids, and three Antiquaries. These were to cause whatever was approv'd and found valuable in those books, to be transcrib'd into the royal (78) *Book of Tarah*; which was to be the perpetual standard of their History, and by which the contents of all other such books shou'd be receiv'd or reject'd. Such good regulations I say there were made, but not how long or how well observ'd: or, if truth is to be preferr'd to all other respects, we must own they were but very slightly regarded; and that the Bards, besides their Poetical license, were both mercenary and partial to a scandalous degree. The ordinance however is admirable, and deserves more to be imitated, than we can ever expect it to be so any where. The third.

(75) EOCHAIÐH OLLAMHFODLA.

(76) *Mur-Ollamhan.*

(77) TUATHAL TEACHTMHAIR.

(78) *Leabhar Teanbra.*

most munificent patron of Literature was King CORMAC, surnamed (79) *Long-beard*, who renew'd the Laws about the Antiquaries, rebuilt and enlarg'd the Academy at Tarah for history, law, and military prowess: besides that he was an indefatigable distributor of Justice, having written himself abundance of Laws still extant. So is his (80) *Institution of a Prince* (81), or his *Precepts* to his Son and Successor CARBRE (82) LIFFECAIR, who in like manner was not superficially addicted to the Muses. CORMAC was a great proficient in Philosophy, made light of the Superstitions of the Druids in his youth; and, in his old age having quitted the Scepter, he led a contemplative life: rejecting all the Druidical fables and idolatry, and acknowledging only one Supreme Being, or first Cause. This short account of the primevous Irish Learning, whereof you'll see many proofs and particulars in the more than once mention'd *Dissertation concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies* (to be annexed to our *Critical History*) will, I am confident, excite your curiosity.

XIV. THE custom therefore, or rather cunning of the Druids, in not committing their

(79) ULFHADA.

(80) 'Tis, among other most valuable pieces, in the Collection call'd O DUVEGAN's, folio 190. a, now or late in the possession of the right honorable the Earl of CLANRIC-KARD. There are copies of it elsewhere, but that's the oldest known.

(81) *Teagarg Ríogh.*

(82) CAIBRE LIFIOCAIR,

D 2

rites or doctrines to writing, has not depriv'd us (as some may be apt to imagine) of sufficient materials to compile their *History*. For, in the first place, when the Romans became masters of Gaule, and every where mixt with the natives; they cou'd not avoid, in that time of light and Learning, but arrive at the certain knowledge of whatever facts they have been pleas'd to hand down to us, tho not always rightly taking the usages of other nations: as it must needs be from a full conviction of the Druidical fraudulent Superstitions, and barbarous Tyranny exercis'd over the credulous people, that these same Romans, who tolerated all Religions, yet suppress this Institution in Gaule and Britain, with the utmost severity. The Druids however were not immediately extinguish'd, but only their barbarous, tyrannical, or illusory usages. And indeed their human Sacrifices, with their pretended Magic, and an authority incompatible with the power of the Magistrate, were things not to be indur'd by so wise a State as that of the Romans. In the second place, the Grec colony of Marfeilles, a principal mart of Learning, cou'd not want persons curious enough, to acquaint themselves with the Religion, Philosophy, and Customs of the country, wherein they liv'd. STRABO and others give us an account of such. From these the elder Greeks had their information (not to speak now of the Gauls seated in Greece it self and in lesser Asia) as the later Greeks had theirs from the Romans; and, by good

good fortune, we have a vast number of passages from both. But, in the third place, among the Gauls themselves and the Britons, among the Irish and Albanian Scots, their Historians and Bards did always register abundance of particulars about the Druids, whose affairs were in most things inseparable from those of the rest of the inhabitants: as they were not only the judges in all matters civil or religious, but in a manner the executioners too in criminal causes; and that their Sacrifices were very public, which consequently made their rites no less observable. One thing which much contributed to make them known, is, that the King was ever to have a Druid about his person; to pray and sacrifice, as well as to be a judge for determining emergent controversies, tho he had a civil judge besides. So he had one of the chief Lords to advise him, a Bard to sing the praises of his ancestors, a Chronicler to register his own actions, a Physician to take care of his health, and a Musician to intertain him. Whoever was absent, these by Law must be ever present, and no fewer than the three Controllers of his family; which Decemvirate was the institution of King CORMAC, The same custom was taken up by all the Nobles, whereof each had about him his Druid, Chief Vassal, Bard, Judge, Physician, and Harper; the four last having lands assign'd them, which descended to their families, wherein these Professions were hereditary, as were their Marshal, and the rest of their officers. After

the introducing of Christianity, the Druid was succeeded by a Bishop or Priest, but the rest continu'd on the antient foot: insomuch, that for a long time after the English Conquest, the Judges, the Bards, Physicians, and Harpers, held such tenures in Ireland. The O DUVEGANS were the hereditary Bards of the O KEL-LIES, the O CLERYS and the O BRODINS were also hereditary Antiquaries: the O SHEILS and the O CANVANS were such hereditary Doctors, the MAGLANCHYS such hereditary Judges, and so of the rest; for more examples, especially in this place, are needless: it wou'd be but multiplying of names, without ever making the Subject clearer. Only I must remark here, from the very nature of things, no less than from facts, that (tho CESAR be silent about it) there were civil judges in Gaule just as in Ireland, yet under the direction and controll of the Druids. This has led many to imagine, that, because the Druids influenc'd all, there were therefore no other judges, which is doubtless an egregious mistake,

XV. FURTHER, tho the Druids were exempted from bearing arms, yet they finally determin'd concerning Peace and War: and those of that order, who attended the King and the Nobles, were observ'd to be the greatest make-bates and incendiaries; the most averse to Peace in Council, and the most cruel of all others in Action. Some of 'em were ally'd to Kings, many of 'em were King's sons, and

and great numbers of them cull'd out of the best families: which you see is an old trick, but has not been always effectual enough to perpetuate an Order of men. This however made Historians not to forget them, and indeed several of 'em render'd themselves very remarkable; as the Druid TROSDAN, who found an Antidote against the poyson'd arrows of certain Brittish invaders: (83) CABBADIUS, grandfather to the most celebrated champion (84) CUCULAND; (85) TAGES the father of MORNA, mother to the no less famous (86) FIN MAC CUIL: DADER, who was kill'd by EOGAN, son to OLILL OLOM King of Munster; which EOGAN was marry'd to MOINIC, the daughter of the Druid DILL. The Druid MOGRUTH, the son of SINDUINN, was the stoutest man in the wars of King CORMAC: nor less valiant was (87) DUBCOMAR, the chief Druid of King FIACHA; and LUGAPIUS MAC-CON the abdicated King of Ireland, was treacherously run thro the body with a lance by the Druid (88) FIRCHISUS. IDA and ONO (Lords of Corcachlann near Roscommon) were Druids; wherof ONO presented his fortress of *Imleach-Ona* to PATRIC, who converted it into the religious house of *Elphin*,

(83) CATHBAID.

(84) CUCHULAIÐ.

(85) TADHG.

(86) FINN MHAC CUBHAILL.

(87) DUBHCHOMAR.

(88) FEARCHIOS.

since an (89) Episcopal See. From the very name of (90) LAMDERG, or *Bloody-hand*, we learn what sort of man the Druid was, who by the vulgar is thought to live enchanted in the mountain between Bunncranach and (91) Fathen in the county of Dunegall. Nor must we forget, tho out of order of time, King (92) NIALL *of the nine hostage's* Arch-Druid, by name (93) LAGICINUS BARCHEDIUS; who procured a most cruel war against EOCHA King of Munster, for committing Manslaughter on his son: and which the Druids making a common cause, there was no honor, law, or humanity observ'd towards this King; whose story, at length in our book, will stand as a lasting monument of Druidical bloodyness, and a Priest-ridden State. I conclude with BAE-RACH (chief Druid to CONCHOBHAR NESSAN King of Ulster) who is fabl'd by the monks long after the extinction of the Druids, to have before it happen'd, others say at the very time, describ'd the passion of JESUS CHRIST, in so lively and moving a manner; that the King transported with rage drew his sword, and with inexpressible fury fell a hack-

(89) *Ailfnn*, from a vast Obelisk that stood by a well in that place; and that fell down in the year 1675. The word signifies the *white Stone*, and was corrupted into *Oil-fnn*. Some wou'd derive the name from the clearness of the fountain, but 'tis by torture: others from one *OIL-BINN*, a Danish commander.

(90) LAMNDERG.

(91) *Taobhsaol-treach*.

(92) NIAL NAOIGHI-ALLACH.

(93) LAIGHICHIN MHAC BARRECHADHA.

ing and hewing the trees of the wood where he then was, which he mistook for the Jews : nay, that he put himself into such a heat as to dy of this frenzy. But even O FLAHERTY fully confutes this silly fiction, (94) not thinking it possible that such circumstances cou'd be any way inferr'd from an Eclipse (which is the foundation of the story) nor that a clearer revelation shou'd be made of those things to the Irish Druids, than to the Jewish Prophets ; and, finally, by shewing, that Conchobhar dy'd quietly in his bed 15 years after the crucifixion of CHRIST. BACRACH however was a great man, and the King himself had a Druid for his step-father and instructor.

XVI. IT can be no wonder therefore, that men thus sacred in their function, illustrious in their alliances, eminent for their learning, and honour'd for their valor, as well as dreaded for their power and influence, should also be memorable both in the poetry and prose of their country. And so in fact they are, notwithstanding what DUDLEY FORBES, before mention'd, did, in a Letter to an Irish writer, (95) in the year 1683, affirm : namely, that, in PATRIC's time no fewer than 180 Volumes, relating to the affairs of the Druids, were burnt in Ireland. Dr. KENNEDY says, (96) that PATRIC burnt 300 *volumens*,

(94) *Ogyg.*

(95) O FLAHERTY.

(96) *Dissertation about the Family of the STEARTS, &c.*
Page 29.

stuffed with the fables and superstitions of Heathen Idolatry: unfit, adds he, to be transmitted to posterity. But, pray, how so? why are Gallic or Irish superstitions more unfit to be transmitted to posterity, than those of the Greeks and Romans? Why should PATRIC be more squeamish in this respect than MOSES or the succeeding Jewish Prophets, who have transmitted to all ages the Idolatries of the Egyptians, Phenicians, Caldeans, and other eastern nations? What an irreparable destruction of History, what a deplorable extinction of arts and inventions, what an unspeakable detriment to Learning, what a dishonor upon human understanding, has the cowardly proceeding of the ignorant, or rather of the interested, against unarm'd monuments at all times occasion'd! And yet this Book-burning and Letter-murdring humor, tho' far from being commanded by CHRIST, has prevail'd in Christianity from the beginning: as in the *Acts of the Apostles* we read, (97) that *many of them which believ'd—and us'd curious arts, brought their books together, and burnt them before all men; and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver,* or about three hundred pounds sterling. This was the first instance of burning Books among Christians; and ever since that time the example has been better follow'd, than any precept of the *Gospel*.

(97) Acts 19. 19.

XVII. FROM what we have hitherto observ'd, you see that our Historians, MY LORD, do (in spite of all chances) abound with matter enough to revive and illustrate the memory of the Druids. Besides that the rites and opinions of other nations serve not only to give light to theirs, but were many of them of Druidical or Celtic extraction. This no body will deny of the Aboriginal Italians, who having been often over-run by the Gauls, and having several Gallic Colonies planted among them, they partook both of their Language and Religion; as will be very easily evinc'd in our *Dissertation*, and has been already tolerably done by Father PEZRON in his *Celtic Originals*. DIOGENES LAERTIUS, in the Proem of his *Philosophical History*, reckons the Druids among the chief Authors of the Barbarous Theology and Philosophy, long anterior to the Greeks, their disciples: and PHURNUTUS, in his treatise of *the nature of the Gods*, says most (98) expressly, that *among the many and various fables which the antient Greeks had about the Gods, some were derived from the Mages, some from the Egyptians and Gauls, others from the Africans and Phrygians, and others from other nations*:

(98) Τῆ δὲ πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας περὶ θεῶν γεγενῆσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι μυθοποιίας, ὥς ἄλλαι μὲν ἐπὶ Μαγῶσι γεγενῆσθαι, ἄλλαι δὲ παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ Κέλτοις, καὶ Λιβυσι, καὶ Φρυγί, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι. Cap. 17. Thus the Manuscript very accurately: but the printed Copy has τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι superfluously in the end, and wants Φρυγί before, which is very essential.

for

for which he cites HOMER as a witness, nor is there any thing that bears a greater witness to it self. This however is not all : for, over and above the several helps I have mention'd, there are likewise numerous monuments of the worship of the Druids, their valor, policy, and manner of habitation, still remaining in France, in Britain, in Ireland, and in the adjacent Islands ; many of 'em intire, and the rest by the help of these easily conceiv'd. Most are of stone, as the lesser ones are of glass, and others of earth bak'd extremely hard. The two last kinds were ornaments or magical gems, as were also those of Chrystal and Agat, either perfectly Spherical, or in the figure of a Lenticill ; or shap'd after any of the other ways, which shall be describ'd and portray'd in our Book. The Glass Amulets or ornaments are in the Lowlands of Scotland, call'd *Adder-stanes*, and by the Welsh *Gleini na Droedh*, or Druid-Glass, which is in Irish *Glaine nan Druidhe*, *Glaine* in this language signifying *Glass*, tho obsolete now in the Welsh dialect, and preserv'd only in this *Gleini na Droedh*. But the more massy Monuments shall, in a day or two, be the Subject of another Letter from,


MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most
oblig'd and very
humble Servant,

June 25. 1728.



THE
SECOND LETTER:
TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE LORD
VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

I.  ERMIT me at this time, (MY LORD) according to the promise with which I concluded my last, to send to your Lordship *A Specimen of the Monuments relating to the Druids*, that are still extant, either intire or imperfect. I have ever indeavor'd to avoid deserving the blame, with which an approv'd author charges those ; who, while very conversant in the history of other places, appear to be absolute strangers in their own

own country : and as I know no man better versed in foren affairs or in our own (which an able Statesman will never separate) nor a greater master of antient or modern history than yourself ; so I am apt to hope, that the collection of Brittish and Irish Antiquities I here take the liberty to present to your Lordship, may not prove altogether disagreeable. The French examples (a few excepted) I reserve for the larger work, and in the mean time I proceed. On the tops of mountains and other eminences in Ireland, in Wales, in Scotland, in the Scottish Ilands and the Ile of Man, (where things have been least disorder'd or displac'd by the frequency of inhabitants, or want of better ground for cultivation) there are great heaps of stones, like the (1) MERCURIAL *heaps* (2) of the Greecs, whereof when we treat of the Celtic MERCURY in particular. The heaps, which make my present subject, consist of stones of all sorts, from one pound to a hundred. They are round in form, and somewhat tapering or diminishing upwards : but on the summit was always a flat stone, for a use we shall presently explain. These heaps are of all bignesses, some of 'em containing at least a hundred cartload of stones : and if any of 'em be grown over with earth, 'tis purely accidental in the long course of time wherein

(1) Προσσωρευουσι δε τους λιθους τοις 'Ερμαϊς ἰκαζος των παριοντων ; ἵνα τινα αυτοις προσθεσις, &c. PHURNUT, de Nat. Deon. cap. 16.

(2) 'Ερμαια, i. e. Acervi Mercuriales,

they have been neglected; for no such thing was intended in the first making of them, as in the sepulchral barrows of the Gothic nations, which are generally of earth. Such a heap is in the antient Celtic language, and in every dialect of it, call'd CARN; and every Carn so dispos'd, as to be in sight of some other. Yet they are very different from the rude and much smaller pyramyds, which the old Irish erect along the roads in memory of the dead, by them call'd *Leachda*, and made of the first stones that offer. From the devotional rounds perform'd about the Carns in times of Heathenism, and which, as we shall see anon, are yet continu'd in many places of the Scottish Highlands and the Hebrides, any circle, or turning about, is in Armoric call'd *cern* (1), as *cerna* in that dialect is to make such a turn. On the Carn call'd *Crig-y-dyrn*, in the parish of Trelech in Caermarthenshire, the flat stone on the top is three yards in length, five foot over, and from ten to twelve inches thick. The circumference of this Carn at the bottom is about sixty yards, and 'tis about six yards high; the ascent being very easy, tho I suppose there was originally a ladder for this purpose.

II. LET this Carn serve for an example of the rest, as to their form and bulk; only we may take notice here by the way, what odd

(3) C is pronounc'd as K

imaginations men are apt to have of things they do not understand. Thus Mr. WILLIAM SACHEVERELL, Governor of the Ile of Man under the right honorable the Earl of DERBY in part of King WILLIAM's reign, mistaking these Carns in his (4) description of that Iland, *The tops of the mountains* (says he) *seem nothing but the rubbish of nature, thrown into barren and unfruitful heaps, as near two thirds of the Iland are of this sort. Some seem particularly worthy our remark, as the two Barowls, Skeyall, the watch-hill of Knock-a-low : but particularly Sneafeld, where it is not unpleasant* (continues he) *when the weather is clear and serene, to see three noble nations surrounding one of the most obscure in the Universe : which is, as it were, the center of the Brittish Empire.* These heaps our Author thought the work of chance, tho artfully contriv'd in all the Celtic countries; as Dr. MARTIN thought a Carn in the Ile of Saint KILDA, wherof presently, to be a signal effect of Providence: But as for the Mannian nation (which is visibly the center of the Brittish world) it is very undeservedly become obscure, whether we consider what has been transacted in former ages, it having been the theater of many surprizing revolutions: or the particular usages in religious and civil affairs, that even now obtain there, especially their Laws, which still continue mostly unwritten (for which rea-

son they call 'em *Breast-laws*) being without expense or delay, and undoubted remains of the Justice of the Druids. For, wherever they were not themselves a party, neither the Egyptians, nor Persians, nor Greeks, nor Romans, did surpass the wisdom, equity, and strictness of the Druids in the sanction or execution of their Laws; which made all sorts of men leave their controversies of every kind to their determination, without any further appeal. Nor without some regard in fact, and a vast deal more in profession, to moral virtue, cou'd any Set of Impostors in any country possibly support their false doctrines and superstitious observances; which receive credit from hence, as the teachers of 'em do all their power and authority, in proportion to the austerities they practise, or the appearances they have of devotion. I say appearances, because this in most, join'd to real self-denial in a few (who by the rest are deem'd silly tho useful creatures) will long uphold an institution both erroneous and tyrannical: which is the reason that, to this hour, the memory of the Druids is highly venerable among those of the Ile of Man; and that their Laws are infinitely preferr'd to all others by the Manksmen, who say the family of DERBY comes nearest their excellence of any race of men now in the world. Wherefore, as well in these regards, as in many others essential to my design, I shall, in the Body of the *History*, give a true idea of the past and present customs of this antient, tho mixt people.

ple. Their numerous Carns, of whose origin anon, are not the onely monuments they have of the Druids. But that the chief College of these Philosophers was ever establish'd there, and much less any such College appointed by the Kings of Scotland (as HECTOR BOETHIUS feign'd) I shall demonstrate to be pure romance: and at the same time will not fail doing justice to the memory of the great Hero and Legislator of the Iland, MANANNAN; reported, after the manner of those ages, to have been the Son of (5) LEAR, or the God of the Sea, from his extraordinary Skill in navigation and commerce. He was truly the Son of (6) ALLADIUS, who was of royal blood, and his own name ORBSEN; but call'd MANANNAN from his country, and kill'd by one ULLIN near Galway, in Ireland: of all which the particulars will be given in their proper Place, especially *the Republic of MANANNAN*; who, from his instruction by the Druids, was reputed a consummate Magician, and was indeed most happy in stratagems of war both by land and sea. Mr. SACHEVERELL, except in affirming MANANNAN (whom he misnames MANNAN) to have been (7) *the father, founder, and legislator of the Iland*, is out in every thing he says concerning him: for, instead of living about the beginning of the fifth century; he liv'd as many centuries

(5) MANANNAN MHAC LEIR.

(6) ALLAID.

(7) Page 20.

before CHRIST; and so cou'd not be contemporary with PATRIC, the Apostle of Man as well as Ireland. Neither was MANANNAN the son of a King of Ulster, nor yet the brother of FERGU'S II. (8) King of Scotland: and as for his not being able to get any information what became of him, I have already told that he was kill'd in Ireland, and by whom.

III. IN process of time the Carns, to which we now return, serv'd every where for beacons, as many of them as stood conveniently for this purpose: but they were originally design'd, as we are now going to see, for fires of another nature. The fact stood thus. On May-eve the Druids made prodigious fires on those Carns, which being every one (as we said) in sight of some other, cou'd not but afford a glorious show over a whole nation. These fires were in honour of BEAL or BEALAN, latiniz'd by the Roman authors into (9) BELENUS, by which name the Gauls and their colonies understood the Sun: and therefore to this hour the first day of May is by the Aboriginal Irish call'd *La BEALTEINE*, or *the day of BELEN's fire* (10). I remember one of those Carns on Fawn-hill within some miles of Londonderry, known by no other name but

(8) Ibid.

(9) Herodian. Aufon. Capitolin. Tertul. &c. Videantur etiam Gruter. et Reines. in *Inscriptionibus*.

(10) Etiam *Bealltaine*, & antiquitus *Beltine*.

that of BEALTEINE, facing another such Carn on the top of Inch-hill: and GREGORY of *Tours*, in his book *de Gloria Confessorum*, mentions a (11) hill of the same name (12) between Artom and Riom in Auvergne in France, from which Riom might be fairly view'd. But tho later writers affirm with VALESIIUS, in his *Galliarum notitia*, this hill to be now unknown; yet BELEN's heap on the top of it, is a sure mark whereby to discover it. His circular Temple, as we shall see hereafter, is still there (if not the Carn) having certainly existed in GREGORY's time. Abundance of such heaps remain still on the Mountains in France, and on the Alps. Those writers however are not to be blam'd, as being strangers to the origin or use of such heaps; and not able to distinguish them from certain other heaps, under which robbers and traitors were bury'd. These last are call'd in general by the Welsh *Carn-Vradúyr* and *Carn-Lhadron* (13); or particularly after the proper names of the underlying criminals, as *Carnedh-LEUELYN*, *Carnedh-DAVID*, and such like. As far from Auvergne as the Iland of Saint KILDA, in the 58th degree of northern latitude, there is another hill denominated from BELLENUS (which more consonant to the Celtic

(11) *Cùm [ex Artonenſi vico] veniſſet in cacumen montis Belenatenſis, de quo vici Ricomagenſis poſitio contemplantur, vidit hos &c. De Gloria Confessor. cap. 5.*

(12) *Mons Belenatenſis.*

(13) *Traitor and thieves Carn: in Irish Carn-bhrateoir & Carn-an Ladrain.*

idiom HERODIAN (14) writes BELIN) corruptly call'd *Otter-VEAUL* (15), or BELEN's *height*; on which is a vast heap, whereof Doctor MARTIN, in his account of that Iland, did not know the use, as I said before (16): but the Carn being on the hill just above the landing place, he thinks it so order'd by providence; that by rousing down these stones, the inhabitants might prevent any body's coming ashore against their will. In the Church of Birsá (near which stands a very remarkable Obelisc) at the west end of the Iland call'd *Pomona*, or the mainland, in Orkney, there is an erect stone, with the word BELUS inscrib'd on it in antient characters. Yet whether this be any remembrance of BELENUS (better according to the Irish idiom BELUS) or be the Monument of a native Prince so call'd, I shall not here decide. The fact it self is told us by Mr. BRAND (17), in his *Description of Orkney and Zetland*. I wish he had also told us, of what kind those antient characters are, or that he had exactly copy'd them: and if there be a man's portraiture on the stone, as Dr. MARTIN affirms (18), the dress and posture will go a great way towards clearing the matter.

IV. BUT to make no longer digression, May-day is likewise call'd *Lá BEALTEINE* by

(14) Lib. 8. Cap. 7.

(15) *Uachdar* BHEIL.

(16) Page 64.

(17) Page 14.

(18) Page 358.

the Highlanders of Scotland, who are no contemptible part of the Celtic off-spring. So it is in the Ile of Man: and in Armoric a Priest is still call'd *Belec*, or the servant of BEL, and Priesthood *Belegieth*. Two such fires, as we have mention'd, were kindl'd by one another on May-eve in every village of the nation (as well throout all Gaule, as in Britain, Ireland, and the adjoining lesser Ilands) between which fires the men and the beasts to be sacrific'd were to pass; from whence came the proverb, *between BEL's* (19) *two fires*, meaning one in a great strait, not knowing how to extricate himself. One of the fires was on the Carn, another on the ground. On the eve of the first day of November (20), there were also such fires kindl'd, accompany'd (as they constantly were) with sacrifices and feasting. These November fires were in Ireland call'd *Tine tlach'd-gha*, from *tlach'd-gha* (21), a place hence so call'd in Meath, where the ARCH-DRUID of the realm had his fire on the said eve; and for which piece of ground, because originally belonging to Munster, but appointed by the supreme Monarch for this use, there was an annual acknowledgement (call'd *sgreaboll*) paid to the King of that province. But that all the Druids of Ireland assembl'd there on the first of November, as several authors injudiciously write; is not only a thing improbable,

(19) *Ittir dha tkeine* BHEIL.

(20) *Sambbbhuin*.

(21) *Fire-ground*.

but also false in fact: nor were they otherwise there at that time, nor all at any time together in one place, but as now all the Clergy of England are said to be present in their Convocations; that is, by their representatives and delegates. Thus CESAR is likewise to be understood, when, after speaking of the ARCH-DRUID of Gaule, he says that (22) *the Druids at a certain time of the Year assembl'd in a consecrated grove in the country of the Carnutes* (23), *which is reckon'd the middle region of all Gaule.* But of these assemblies in their place. On the foresaid eve all the people of the country, out of a religious persuasion instill'd into them by the Druids, extinguish'd their fires as intirely; as the Jews are wont to sweep their houses, the night before *the feast of unleavened bread.* Then every master of a family was religiously oblig'd, to take a portion of the consecrated fire home, and to kindle the fire a-new in his house, which for the ensuing year was to be lucky and prosperous. He was to pay however for his future happiness, whether the event prov'd answerable or not: and tho his house shou'd be afterwards burnt, yet he must deem it the punishment of some new sin, or ascribe it to any thing, rather than to want of virtue in the consecration of the fire, or of validity in the

(22) *Ii [Druides] certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quae regio totius Galliae media habetur, confidunt in loco consecrato. De bello Gallico, lib. 6. cap. 13.*

(23) Now *le Pais Chartrain*, the place *Dreux*.

benediction of the Druid ; who, from officiating at the Carns, was likewise call'd (24) *Cairneach*, a name that continu'd to signify a Priest, even in the Christian times. But if any man had not clear'd with the Druids for the last year's dues, he was neither to have a spark of this holy fire from the Carns, nor durst any of his Neighbors let him take the benefit of theirs, under pain of Excommunication ; which, as manag'd by the Druids, was worse than death. If he wou'd brew therefore or bake, or roast or boil, or warm himself and family, in a word, if he wou'd live the winter out, the Druids dues must be paid by the last of October : so that this trick alone was more effectual, than are all the *Acts of Parliament* made for recovering our present Clergy's dues ; which *Acts* are so many and so frequent, that the bare enumeration of them wou'd make an indifferent volum. Wherefore I cannot but admire the address of the Druids, in fixing this ceremony of rekindling family-fires to the beginning of November, rather than to May or Midsummer, when there was an equal opportunity for it.

V. A WORLD of places (25) are denominated from those Carns of all sorts, as in Wales *Carn-Lhechart*, *Carn-Lhaid* ; in Scotland

(24) This is the true origin of the word *Cairneach*, as signifying a Priest : but not deriv'd, as men ignorant of antiquity fancy, from *Coroineach*, alluding to the crown-form'd tonsure of the Monks, not near so old as this word.

(25) The places are numberless in all these countries.

Carn-

Carn-wath, Carn-tullock, Drum-cairn, Glen-cairn; in Ireland *Carn-mail, Carn-aret, Carnan-tagher, Carnan-tober* (26); and in Northumberland, as in other parts of the North of England, they are sometimes call'd *Laws* or *Lows*, a name they also give the Gothic Barrows. The Lowland Scots call 'em in the plural number *Cairns*, whence several Lordships are nam'd, as one in Lennox, another in Galloway (to mention no more) from which the surname of CAIRNS. The family of CARNE, in Wales, is from the like original : but not, as some have thought, the O KEARNYS (27) of Ireland ; one of which, Mr. JOHN KEARNY, Treasurer of Saint PATRIC'S in Dublin, was very instrumental in getting the *New Testament* translated into Irish, about the end of the last century but one. As to this Fire-worship, which (by the way) prevail'd over all the world, the Celtic nations kindl'd other fires on midsummer eve, which are still continu'd by the Roman Catholics of Ireland; making them in all their grounds, and carrying flaming brands about their Corn-fields. This they do likewise all over France, and in some of the Scottish Isles. These Midsummer fires and sacrifices, were to obtain a blessing on the fruits of the earth, now becoming ready for gathering; as those of the first of May, that they might prosperously grow : and those of the last of Octo-

(26) *Carnan* is the diminutive of *Carn*.

(27) O *Cearnaigh*, besides O *Ceatharnaigh*,

ber, were a thanksgiving for finishing their Harvest. But in all of 'em regard was also had to the several degrees of increase and decrease in the heat of the Sun ; as in treating of their Astronomy, and Manner of reckoning time, we shall clearly show. Their other festivals, with their peculiar observations, shall be likewise explain'd each in their proper Sections ; especially that of New-year's day, or the tenth of March (their fourth grand festival) which was none of the least solemn : and which was the day of seeking, cutting, and consecrating their wonder-working, *All-heal*, or Mistletoe of Oak. This is the ceremony to which VIRGIL alludes by his *golden-branch*, in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, for which there is incontestable proof, which we shall give in a section on this subject. 'Tis PLINY who says, that the Druids call'd it, in their language, by a word signifying (28) *All-heal* ; which word in the Armorican dialect is *oll-yach*, in the Welsh *ol-hiach*, and in the Irish *Uil-iceach*. Here by the way, we may observe, that as the Greeks had many words from the Barbarians, for which PLATO in his (29) *Cratylus*, judges it would be lost labor to seek etymologies in their own language : so it is remarkable, that certain feasts of APOLLO were call'd (30) *Carnea*, from the

(28) Omnia-sanantem appellantes suo vocabulo, &c. *Lih.* 16. cap. 44.

(29) Εἰ τις ζητοῖ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Φωνὴν, ὡς σοικοῦτως κεῖται ; ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἐκείνην, εἰς ἣς τὸ ὄνομα τυγχάνει ὄν, οἶσθα ὅτι ἀποροῖ αὐν. *Inter opera*, edit. Paris. vol. 1. pag. 409.

(30) Τα κάρνεια.

killing of no body knows what Prophet CARNUS. Some said that he was the son of JUPITER and EUROPA, kill'd for a Magician by one ALES; and others yet, that CARNI was a common name for an order of Prophets in Acarnania. APOLLO himself was surnamed CARNUS (31); and, from him, May was call'd the *Carnean Month*. Nay there were *Carnean Priests*, and a particular kind of Music, which we may interpret the *Cairn-tunes*, was appropriated to those festivals in May, perfectly answering those of the Celtic tribes. It is therefore highly probable, that the Greeks did learn these things from the Gauls their conquerors, and in many places seated among them; or from some of their travellers in Gaule itself, if not from the Phocæan colony at Marseilles. We know further, that the making of hymns was a special part of the Bards office; who by STRABO, are expressly term'd *Hymn-makers* (32): and I shou'd before, that the antient Greeks (by their own confession) learnt part of their Philosophy, and many of their sacred fables, from the Gauls. So that this criticism is not so void of probability, as many which pass current enough in the world. However, I fairly profess to give it onely for a conjecture; which I think preferable to the farr-fetcht and discordant accounts of the Greeks: who, in spite of PLATO and good sense, wou'd needs be fishing for the

(31) Καρνειος μῦθ.

(32) Ὑμνῆται.

origin of every thing in their own language. In the mean time it is not unworthy our remark, that as (33) Prizes were adjudg'd to the Victors in this *Carnéan* Music among the Greeks: so the distributing of Prizes to the most successful Poets, was no less usual among the Gauls and their colonies; whereof there is undeniable proof in the Brittain and Irish Histories, as will be seen in our Section concerning the *Bards*.

VI. ANOTHER Criticism relating immediately to APOLLO (for which I think this a proper place) I give as something more than a conjecture. In the Lordship of Merchiston, near Edinburgh, was formerly dug up a stone with an Inscription to APOLLO GRANNUS; concerning which Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE Baronet, in his second edition of CAMBEN'S *Description of Scotland*, thus expresses himself after his (34) author. *Who this APOLLO GRANNUS might be, and whence he should have his name, not one (to my knowledge) of our grave Senate of Antiquaries hitherto could ever tell. But if I might be allow'd, from out of the lowest bench, to speak what I think; I wou'd say that APOLLO GRANNUS, among the Romans, was the same that (35) APOLLON AKERSEKOMES, that is, APOLLO with long*

(33) Τιμοθεος—τα Καρνεια αγωνιζομενος. *Phutarch. in Apophthegm.*

(34) This passage in CAMBEN is in the 897th page of CHURCHILL'S edition, anno 1695.

(35) Απολλων ακερσεκομης: item Ακείρσεκομης.

hair,

hair, *among the Greeks: for* ISIDORE *calls the long hair of the Goths* GRANNOS. This consequence will by no means hold: for what are the Goths to the Romans, who express this Grec by *intonsus* APOLLO? And since Goths speaking Latin had as little to do in the shire of Lothian, it will not be doubted, but that it was some Roman who paid this vow; as soon as 'tis known, that, besides the man's name QUINTUS LUSIUS SABINIANUS, *Grian*, among the many (36) Celtic names of the *Sun*, was one, being the common name of it still in Irish: and that, from his beams, *Greannach* in the same language signifies *long-hair'd*, which is a natural epithet of the Sun in all nations. There is no need therefore of going for a Gothic derivation to ISIDORE, in whom now I read *Scots* instead of *Goths*; and not, as I fancy, without very good reason. It wou'd be superfluous to produce instances (the thing is so common) to show that the Romans, to their own names of the Gods; added the names or attributes under which they were

(36) Besides the Sun's religious attribute of *BEL*, *BEAL*, *BELIN*, or *BELENUS*, it is call'd *Hayl* in Welsh, *Houl* in Cornish, *Heol* in Armoric; in all which the aspirate *b* is put for *s*, as in a world of such other words: for any word beginning with *s* in the ancient Celtic, does in the oblique cases begin with *b*. Yet *s* is still retain'd in the Armoric *Disul*, in the Cambrian *Dyddysŷe*, and the Cornubian *Dezil*; that is to say, *Sunday*. It was formerly *Diasoil* in Irish, whence still remain *Solus* light, *Soillse* clearness, *Soillseach* bright or sunny, *Solleir* manifest, and several more such. 'Tis now call'd *Dia Dombnaigh*, or *Dies Dominicus*, according to the general use of all Christians.

invok'd in the country, where they happen'd on any occasion to sojourn. Nor was this manner of topical worship unknown to the ancient Hebrews, who are forbid to follow it by MOSES in these words: (37) *Enquire not after their Gods, saying, how did these nations serve their Gods? even so will I do likewise.* Grian therefore and Greannach explain the (38) Lothian Inscription very naturally, in the antient language of the Scots themselves (spoken still in the Highlands and Western Isles, as well as in Ireland) without any need of having recourse to Gothland, or other foren countries.

VII. TO return to our Carn-firès, it was customary for the Lord of the place, or his son, or some other person of distinction, to take the entrals of the sacrific'd animal in his hands, and walking barefoot over the coals thrice, after the flames had ceas'd, to carry them strait to the Druid, who waited in a whole

(37) Deut. 12. 80.

(38) This Inscription, as given us by CAMDEN from Sir PETER YOUNG, preceptor to King JAMES VI. (for the Laird of Merchiston's *Exposition of the Apocalyps* I never saw) runs thus:

APOLLINI
GRANNO
Q. LUSIVS
SABINIA
NUS
PROC *
AUG *

V. S. S. L. V. M *

* Procurator.

* Augusti.

* Votum susceptum solvit
labens meritis,

skin at the Altar. If the Nobleman escap'd harmless, it was reckon'd a good omen, welcom'd with loud acclamations : but if he receiv'd any hurt, it was deem'd unlucky both to the community and to himself. Thus I have seen the people running and leaping thro the St. JOHN's fires in Ireland, and not onely proud of passing unsing'd : but, as if it were some kind of Lustration, thinking themselves in a special manner blest by this ceremony, of whose original nevertheless they were wholly ignorant in their imperfect imitation of it. Yet without being appriz'd of all this, no reader, however otherwise learned, can truly apprehend the beginning of the Consul FLAMINIUS's speech to EQUANUS the Sabin, at the battle of Thrasimenus, thus intelligently related by (39) SILIUS ITALICUS.

*Then seeing EQUANUS, near Soracte born,
In person, as in arms, the comelyest youth;
Whose country manner 'tis, when th' archer
keen*

*Divine APOLLO joys in burning HEAPS,
The sacred Entrails thro the fire unhurt
To carry thrice : so may you always tread,*

- (39) Tum Soracte satum, praestantem corpore et armis,
AEQUANUM noscens; patrio cui ritus in arvo,
Dum pius Arcitenens incensis gaudet ACERVIS,
Extâ ter innocuos latè portare per ignes :
Sic in APOLLINEA semper vestigia prunâ
Inviolata teras ; victorque vaporis, ad aras
Dona serenato referas Solennia PHOEBO.

Lib. 5. ver. 175.

*With unscorch'd feet, the consecrated coals;
And o'er the heat victorious, swiftly bear
The solemn gifts to pleas'd APOLLO's Altar.*

Now let all the Commentators on this writer be consulted, and then it will appear what sad guess-work they have made about this passage; which is no less true of an infinite number of passages in other authors relating to such customs: for a very considerable part of Italy follow'd most of the Druidical rites, as the inhabitants of such places happen'd to be of Gallic extraction, which was the case of many Cantons in that delicious country. But this is particularly true of the Umbrians and Sabins, who are by all authors made the (40) antientest people of Italy, before the coming thither of any Grec Colonies. But they are by (41) SOLINUS from the historian BOCCHUS, by (42) SERVIUS from the elder MARC ANTONY, by (43) ISIDORE also and (44) TZETZES, in direct terms stil'd *the issue of the antient Gauls*, or a branch of them: and DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS, the most judicious of Antiquaries, proves out of ZENODOTUS, that the Sabins

(40) Dionys. Halicarnass. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 3. cap. 14. Flor. lib. 1. cap. 17, &c.

(41) BOCCHUS absolvit Gallorum veterum propaginem Umbros esse. *Polyhist. cap. 8.*

(42) Sanè Umbros Gallorum veterum propaginem esse, MARCUS ANTONIUS refert. *In lib. 12. Aeneid. ante fin.*

(43) Umbri Italiae gens est, sed Gallorum veterum propago. *Origin. lib. 9. cap. 2.*

(44) Ὀμβροὶ γένος Γαλατικόν ἢ Γαλατῶν. Schol. in Lycophron. *Alex. ad ver. 1560.*

were

were descendants of the Umbrians; or, (45) as he expresses it, *Umbrians under the name of Sabins*. The reason I am so particular on this head, is, that the mountain (46) *Soracte* is in the Sabin country, in the district of the Faliscans about 20 miles to the north of Rome, and on the west side of the Tyber. On the top of it were the Grove and Temple of APOLLO, and also his *Carn* (47), to which SILIUS, in the verses just quoted out of him, alludes. PLINY has preserv'd to us the very (48) name of the particular race of people, to which the performing of the above describ'd annual ceremony belong'd: nor was it for nothing that they ran the risk of blistering their soles, since *for this they were exempted from serving in the wars, as well as from the expense and trouble of several offices*. They were call'd HIRPINS. VIRGIL, much elder than SILIUS or PLINY, introduces ARUNS, one of that family, forming a design to kill CAMILLA, and thus praying for success to APOLLO.

*O patron of SORACTE's high abodes,
PHEBUS, the ruling pow'r among the Gods!*

(45) Σαβίνοις & Ουμβρίνοις. *Antiq. Rom. lib. 1.*

(46) Now *Monte di San sylvestro*.

(47) *Aceruus*.

(48) *Haud procul urbe Româ, in Faliscorum agro familiae sunt pausae, quae vocantur HIRPIAE; quaeque sacrificio annuo, quod fit ad montem Soracte APOLLINI, super ambustam ligni fruem ambulantes, non adurantur: et ob id perpetuo senatus consulto militiae, aliorumque munerum, vacationem habent. Hist. Nat. lib. 2. cap. 2. Idem ex eodem Solin. Polybist. cap. 8.*

Whom first we serve, whole woods of unctuous pine

Burn on thy HEAP, and to thy glory shine :

*By thee protected, with our naked soles
Thro flames unsing'd we pass, and tread the
kindl'd coals.*

*Give me, propitious pow'r, to wash away
The stains of this dishonorable day (49).*

DRYDEN'S version.

A Celtic Antiquary, ignorant of the origin of the Umbrians and Sabins, wou'd imagine, when reading what pass on *Soraete*, that it was some Gallic, Brittish, or Irish mountain, the rites being absolutely the same. We do not read indeed in our Irish Books, what preservative against fire was us'd by those, who ran barefoot over the burning coals of the Carns: and, to be sure, they wou'd have the common people piously believe they us'd none. Yet that they really did, no less than the famous fire-eater, whom I lately saw making so great a figure at London, men of penetration and uncorrupted judgements will never question. But we are not merely left to our judgements, for the fact is sufficiently attested by

- (49) Summe Desm, sancti custos Soracis, APOLLO,
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor ACERVO
Pascitur; et medium, freti pietate, per ignem
Cultores multâ premimus vestigia prunâ :
Da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis.

Aen. lib. II. ver. 785.

that

that prodigy of knowledge, and *perpetual opposer of superstition*, MARCUS VARRO; *who, as SERVIUS on the above-cited Passage of VIRGIL affirms (50), describ'd the very ointment of which the HIRPINS made use, besmearing their feet with it, when they walk'd thro the fire.* Thus at all times have the multitude (that common Prey of Priests and Princes) been easily gull'd; swallowing secrets of natural Philosophy for divine Miracles, and ready to do the greatest good or hurt, not under the notions of vice or virtue: but barely as directed by men, who find it their Interest to deceive them.

VIII. BUT leaving the Druids for a while, there are over and above the Carns, in the Highlands of Scotland and in the adjacent Isles numberless OBELISCS, or stones set up an end; some 30, some 24 foot high, others higher or lower: and this sometimes where no such stones are to be dug, Wales being likewise full of them; and some there are in the least cultivated parts of England, with very many in Ireland. In most places of this last kingdom, the common people believe these Obelisks to be men, transform'd into stones by the Magic of the Druids. This is also the notion the vulgar have in Oxfordshire of *Roll-*

(50) Sed VARRO, ubique Religionis expugnator, ait, cum quoddam medicamentum describeret, eo uti solent HIRPINI, qui ambulaturi per ignem, medicamento Plantas tingunt. Ad ver. 787. lib. II. *Æneid.*

wright stones, and in Cornwall of the *Hurlers*; erect stones so call'd, but belonging to a different class from the Obelisks, whereof I now discourse. And indeed in every country the ignorant people ascribe to the Devil or some supernatural power, at least to Giants, all works which seem to them to exceed human art or ability. Thus among other things (for recording their Traditions will have its pleasure as well as usefulness) they account for the Roman Camps and Military Ways, calling such the *Divel's Dykes*, or the like: while the more reasonable part are persuaded, that the erect stones of which we speak, are the Monuments of dead persons, whose ashes or bones are often found near them; sometimes in Urns, and sometimes in stone-coffins, wherein scales, hammers, pieces of weapons, and other things have been often found, some of them very finely gilt or polish'd. Dogs also have been found bury'd with their masters. The erect stones in the midst of *stone-circles* (whereof before I have done) are not of this funeral sort; nor does it follow, that all those have been erected in Christian times, which have Christian Inscriptions or Crosses on them: for we read of many such Obelisks thus sanctify'd, as they speak, in Wales and Scotland. And, in our Irish Histories, we find the practice as early as PATRIC himself; who, having built the Church of *Donach*-PATRIC on the brink of *Loch-HACKET* (51) in the county of Clare,

(51) Formerly *Domhnach-mor* and *Loch-sealga*.

did

did there on three Colosses, erected in the times of Paganism, inscribe the proper name of CHRIST in three languages: namely, JESUS in Hebrew on the first, SOTER in Grec on the second, and SALVATOR in Latin on the third. That Obelisc (if I may call it so) in the Parish of Barvas in the Iland of Lewis in Scotland, call'd the *Thrusbel-stone*, is very remarkable; being not onely above 20 foot high, which is yet surpass'd by many others: but likewise almost as much in breadth, which no other comes near.

IX. BESIDES these Obeliscs, there is a great number of FORTS in all the Iles of Scotland, very different from the Danish and Norwegian *Raths* in Ireland, or the Saxon and Danish *Burghs* in England: nor are they the same with the Gallic, Brittish, and Irish *Lios*, pronounc'd *Lis* (52); which are fortifications made of unwrought stones and uncemented, whereof there are two very extraordinary in the Iles of Aran, in the bay of Galway in Ireland. *Dún* is a general Celtic word for all fortifications made on an eminence, and the eminences themselves are so call'd; as we see in many parts of England, and the sand-hills on the Belgic coast. Yet *Rath* and *Lis* are often confounded together, both in the speech and writing of the Irish. But the Forts in question are all of wrought stone, and

(52) *Lios* in Irish, *Les* in Armoric, and *Lbys* in Welsh, signifies in English a Court; as *Lis-Luin*, *Lynscourt*.

often of such large stones, as no number of men cou'd ever raise to the places they occupy, without the use of Engines ; which Engines are quite unknown to the present inhabitants, and to their ancestors for many ages past. There's none of the lesser Iles, but has one Fort at least, and they are commonly in sight of each other: but the *Dún* in St. KILDA (for so they call the old fort there) is about 18 leagues distant from North Uist, and 20 from the middle of Lewis or Harries, to be seen only in a very fair day like a blewish mist: but a large fire there wou'd be visible at night, as the ascending smoak by day. In this same Ile of Lewis (where are many such *Dúns*) there's north of the village of Brago, a round fort compos'd of huge stones, and three stories high: that is, it has three hollow passages one over another, within a prodigious thick wall quite round the fort, with many windows and stairs. I give this onely as an example from Dr. MARTIN an eye-witness, who, with several others, mention many more such elsewhere: yet (which is a great neglect) without acquainting us with their dimensions, whether those passages in the wall be arch'd, or with many such things relating to the nature of the work; and omitting certain other circumstances, no less necessary to be known. I mention these Forts, MY LORD, not as any way, that I yet know, appertaining to the Druids: but, in treating of the Monuments truly theirs, I take this natural occasion of communicating, what may be

be worthy of your Lordship's curiosity and consideration; especially when, like Episodes in a Poem, they serve to relieve the attention, and are not very foren to the subject. Considering all things, I judge no monuments more deserving our researches; especially, if any shou'd prove them to be Phenician or Massilian Places of security for their commerce: since 'tis certain that both People have traded there, and that PYTHEAS of Marseilles (as we are inform'd by STRABO) made a particular description of those Ilands; to which CESAR, among other Descriptions, without naming the authors, does doubtless (62) refer. But my own opinion I think fit at present to reserve.

X. FROM the conjectures I have about these numerous and costly Forts, in Ilands so remote and barren, I pass to the certainty I have concerning THE TEMPLES OF THE DRUIDS, whereof so many are yet intire in those Ilands, as well as in Wales and Ireland; with some left in England, where culture has mostly destroy'd or impair'd such monuments. These Temples are *Circles of Obelisks* or erect stones, some larger, some narrower (as in all other Edifices) some more and some less magnificent. They are for the great-

(62) In hoc medio cursu [inter Hiberniam scilicet & Britanniam] est insula, quae appellatur Mona. Complures praeterea minores obiectae insulae existimantur, de quibus insulis nonnulli scripserunt, dies continuos 30 sub bruma esse noctem. De Bello Gallico, lib. 3.

est part perfectly circular, but some of them semicircular: in others the Obelisks stand close together, but in most separate and equidistant. I am not ignorant that several, with Dr. CHARLTON in his *Stone-henge restor'd to the Danes*, believe those Circles to be Danish works; a notion I shall easily confute in due time, and even now as I go along. But few have imagin'd 'em to be Roman, as the famous Architect INIGO JONES wou'd needs have this same *Stone-henge* (according to me one of the Druid Cathedrals) to be the Temple of CELUM or TERMINUS, in his *Stone-henge restor'd to the Romans*. Nevertheless, MY LORD, I promise you no less than demonstration, that those Circles were Druids Temples: against which assertion their frequenting of Oaks, and performing no religious rites without Oak-branches or Leaves, will prove no valid exception; no more than such Circles being found in the Gothic countries, tho without *Altars*, whereof we shall speak after the Temples. The outside of the Churches in Spain and Holland is much the same, but their inside differs extremely. As for INIGO JONES, he cannot be too much commended for his generous efforts (which shows an uncommon genius) to introduce a better taste of Architecture into England, where 'tis still so difficult a thing to get rid of Gothic Oddnesses; and therefore 'tis no wonder he shou'd continue famous, when so few endeavour to exceed him: but we must beg his pardon, if, as he was unacquainted

quainted with History, and wanted certain other qualifications, we take the freedom in our Book to correct his mistakes.

XI. IN the Iland of Lewis beforemention'd, at the village of Classernis, there is one of those Temples extremely remarkable. The Circle consists of 12 Obelisks, about 7 foot high each, and distant from each other six foot. In the center stands a stone 13 foot high, in the perfect shape of the rudder of a Ship. Directly south from the Circle, there stand four Obelisks running out in a line; as another such line due east, and a third to the west, the number and distances of the stones being in these wings the same: so that this Temple, the most intire that can be, is at the same time both round and wing'd. But to the north there reach (by way of avenue) two straight ranges of Obelisks, of the same bigness and distances with those of the Circle; yet the ranges themselves are 8 foot distant, and each consisting of 19 stones, the 39th being in the entrance of the avenue. This Temple stands astronomically, denoting the 12 signs of the Zodiac and the four principal winds, subdivided each into four others; by which, and the 19 stones on each side the avenue betokening the cycle of 19 years, I can prove it to have been dedicated principally to the Sun; but subordinately to the Seasons and the Elements, particularly to the Sea and the Winds,

Winds, as appears by the rudder in the middle. The Sea, consider'd as a Divinity, was by the ancient Gauls call'd ANVANA or ONVANA, as the raging Sea is still call'd *Anafa* in so many Letters by the Irish (63); and both of 'em, besides that they were very good Astronomers, are known to have paid honor not only to the Sea, but also to the Winds and the Tempests, as the (64) Romans were wont to do. But of this in the account of their worship. I forgot to tell you, that there is another Temple about a quarter of a mile from the former; and that commonly two Temples stand near each other, for reasons you will see in our *History*. East of Drumcruy in the Scottish Ile of Aran, is a Circular Temple, whose area is about 30 paces over: and south of the same Village is such another Temple, in the center of which still remains the Altar; being a broad thin stone, supported by three other such stones. This is very extraordinary, tho (as you may see in my last Letter) not the onely example; since the zeal of the Christians, sometimes apt to be over-heated, us'd to leave no Altars standing but their own. In the greatest Iland of

(63) They vulgarly call the sea *mor* or *muir*, *mar*, *cu*, *fairge*, &c.

(64) Sic fatus, meritis aris maestavit honores:

Taurum NEPTUNO, taurum tibi, pulcher APOLLO;
Nigram HYEMI pecudem, ZEPHYRIS felicibus albam.

Aen. lib. 3.

Videatur etiam Horatius, Epod. 10. ver. ult. Cic. de nat. Deor. lib. 3. Et Aristoph. in Ranis cum suo Scholiaste.

(65)

(65) Orkney, commonly call'd the *Mainland*, there are likewise two Temples, where the natives believe by Tradition, that the Sun and Moon were worshipt : which belief of theirs is very right, since the lesser Temple is semi-circular. The greater is 110 paces diameter. They know not what to make of two green Mounts erected at the east and west end of it : a matter nevertheless for which it is not difficult to account. There's a trench or ditch round each of these Temples, like that about Stonehenge ; and, in short, every such Temple had the like inclosure. Many of the stones are above 20 or 24 foot in height above the ground, about 5 foot in breadth, and a foot or two in thickness. Some of 'em are fallen down : and the Temples are one on the east and the other on the west side of the Lake of Stennis, where it is shallow and fordable, there being a passage over by large stepping stones. Near the lesser Temple, (which is on the east-side of the lake, as the greater on the west) there stand two stones of the same bigness with the (66) rest ; thro the middle of one of which there is a large hole, by which criminals and victims were ty'd, Likewise in the Iland of

(65) The Iles of *Orkney* are denominated from *Orcas* or *Orcæ*, which, in *Diodorus Siculus* and *Ptolemy*, is the ancient name of Caithness ; and this from *Orc*, not a salmon (as by some interpreted) but a whale : so that in old Irish *Orc-i* is the *Whale Islands*. The words of *Diodorus* are, Το δε ὑπολιπομενον [της Βρετανίας] ἀνηκεν μὲν ἰσθόρουσιν εἰς τὸ τελευτον, ὀνομαζέσθαι δὲ Ὀρκαν. lib. 4.

(66) Brand, pag. 44.

Papa-

Papa-Westra, another of the Orkneys, there stand, near a lake (now call'd St. TREDWELL'S (67) Loch) two such Obelisks, in one of which there is the like hole; and behind them lying on the ground a third stone, being hollow like a trough.

XII. THE SE few I only give for examples out of great numbers, as I likewise take the liberty to acquaint you (MY LORD) that at a place call'd *Biscan-woon*, near Saint Burien's in Cornwall, there is a circular Temple consisting of 19 stones, the distance between each 12 foot; and a twentieth in the center, much higher than the rest. But I am not yet inform'd, whether this middle stone has any peculiar figure, or whether inscrib'd with any characters; for such characters are found in Scotland, and some have been observ'd in Wales; but (except the Roman and Christian Inscriptions) unintelligible to such as have hitherto seen them. Yet they ought to have been fairly represented, for the use of such as might have been able perhaps to explain them. They would at least exercise our Antiquaries. The Circle of *Rollrich-stones* in Oxfordshire, and the *Hurlers* in Cornwall, are two of those Druid Temples. There is one at Aubury in Wiltshire, and some left in other places of England. In GREGORY of Tours time there was remaining, and for ought I know may

(67) Brand, pag. 58.

still

still be so, one of those Temples on the top of BELEN's *Mount* between Arton and Riom in Auvergne. It was within this inclosure that MARTIN, the sainted Bishop, stood taking a (68) view of the country, as before mention'd. Now of such Temples I shall mention here no more, but procede to the Druids ALTARS, which, as I said before, do ordinarily consist of four stones; three being hard flags, or large tho thin stones set up edge-wise, two making the sides, and a shorter one the end, with a fourth stone of the same kind on the top: for the other end was commonly left open, and the Altars were all oblong. Many of 'em are not intire. From some the upper stone is taken away, from others one of the side-stones or the end. And, besides the alterations that men have caus'd in all these kinds of monuments, Time it self has chang'd 'em much more. Mr. BRAND speaking of the Obelisks in Orkney, *many of 'em* (says (69) he) *appear to be much worn, by the washing of the wind and rain, which shows they are of a long standing: and it is very strange to think, how, in those places and times, they got such large stones carry'd and erected.* 'Tis naturally impossible, but that, in the course of so many ages, several stones must have lost their figure; their angles being expos'd to all weathers, and no care taken to

(68) Extat nunc in hoc loco cancellus, in quo Sanctus dicitur stetitisse. *Gregor. Turon. de Gloria Confessor. cap. 5.*

(69) Pag. 46.

repair any disorder, nor to prevent any abuse of them. Thus some are become lower, or jagged, or otherwise irregular and diminish'd: many are quite wasted, and moss or scurf hides the Inscriptions or Sculptures of others; for such Sculptures there are in several places, particularly in Wales and the Scottish Ile of Aran. That one sort of stone lasts longer than another is true: but that all will have their period, no less than Parchment and Paper, is as true.

XIII. THERE are a great many of the ALTARS to be seen yet intire in Wales, particularly two in Kerig Y Drudion parish mention'd in my other Letter, and one in Lhan-Hammúlch parish in Brecknockshire; with abundance elsewhere, diligently observ'd by one I mention'd in my first Letter, Mr. EDWARD LHUYD, who yet was not certain to what use they were destin'd. Here I beg the favor of your Lordship to take it for granted, that I have sufficient authorities for every thing I alledge: and tho I do not always give them in this brief *Specimen*, yet in the *History* it self they shall be produc'd on every proper occasion. The Druids Altars were commonly in the middle of the Temples, near the great Colossus, of which presently; as there is now such a one at Carn-Lhechart in the parish of Lhan-Gyvelach in Glamorganshire, besides that which I mention'd before in Scotland. They are by the Welsh in the singular number

number call'd *Kist-váen*, that is a stone-chest, and in the plural *Kistieu-váen*, stone-chests. These names, with a small variation, are good Irish : but the things quite different from those real stone-chests or coffins (commonly of one block and the lid) that are in many places found under ground. The vulgar Irish call these Altars (70) *DERMOT and GRANIA's bed*. This last was the Daughter of King *CORMAC ULFHADA*, and Wife to (71) *FIN MAC CUIL* ; from whom, as invincible a General and Champion as he's reported to have been, she took it in her head (as women will sometimes have such fancies) to run away with a nobleman, call'd (72) *DERMOT O DUVNY* : but being pursu'd every where, the ignorant country people say, they were intertain'd a night in every quarter-land (73) or village of Ireland ; where the inhabitants sympathizing with their affections, and doing to others what they wou'd be done unto, made these beds both for their resting and hiding place. The Poets, you may imagine, have not been wanting to imbellish this story : and hence it appears, that the Druids were planted as thick as Parish Priests, nay much thicker. Wherever there's a Circle without an Altar, 'tis certain there was one formerly ; as Altars are found where the Circular Obelisks are mostly or all taken away

(70) *Leaba DHIARMAIT agus GHRAINE.*

(71) *FINN MHAC CUBHAILL.*

(72) *DIARMAIT O DUIBHNE.*

(73) *Seisreabh & Ceathrambach.*

for other uses, or out of aversion to this superstition, or that time has consum'd them. They, who, from the bones, which are often found near those Altars and Circles (tho seldom within them) will needs infer, that they were burying places; forget what CESAR, PLINY, TACITUS, and other authors, write of the human sacrifices offer'd by the Druids: and, in mistaking the ashes found in the Carns, they show themselves ignorant of those several anniversary fires and sacrifices, for which they were rear'd, as we have shown above. The huge coping stones of these Carns were in the nature of Altars, and Altars of the lesser form are frequently found near them; as now in the great Latin and Greec Churches, there are, besides the High Altar, several smaller ones.

XIV. THERE's another kind of Altar much bigger than either of these, consisting of a greater number of stones; some of 'em serving to support the others, by reason of their enormous bulk. These the Britons term CROMLECH in the singular, *Cromlechu* in the plural number; and the Irish CROMLEACH or *Cromleac*, in the plural *Cromleacha* or *Cromleacca*. By these Altars, as in the center of the Circular Temples, there commonly stands (or by accident lyes) a prodigious stone, which was to serve as a Pedestal to some Deity: for all these *Cromleachs* were places of worship, and so call'd from *bowing*, the word
fig-

signifying the (74) *bowing-stone*. The original designation of the Idol CRUM-CRUACH (whereof in the next section) may well be from *Cruim*, an equivalent word to *Tairneach Taran* or *Tarman*, all signifying Thunder; whence the Romans call'd the Gallic Jupiter *Taramis* or *Taranis*, the thunderer: and from these *Cromleachs* it is, that in the oldest Irish a Priest is call'd *Cruimtheach*, and Priesthood *Cruimtheachd*, which are so many evident vestiges of the Druidical (75) religion. There's a *Cromlech* in Nevern-Parish in Pembroke-shire, where the middle stone is still 18 foot high, and 9 broad towards the base, growing narrower upwards. There lyes by it a piece broken of 10 foot long, which seems more than 20 oxen can draw: and therefore they were not void of all skill in the Mechanics, who could set up the whole. But one remaining at Poitiers in France, supported by five lesser stones, exceeds all in the British Islands, as being sixty foot in circumference (76). I fancy however that this was a *Rocking-stone*: There's also a noble *Cromlech* at Bod-ouyr in Anglesey. Many of them, by a modest computation, are 30 tun weight: but

(74) From *crom* or *crum*, which, in Armoric, Irish, and Welsh, signifies *bent*; and *Lech* or *Leac*, a broad stone.

(75) Of the same nature is *Cairneach*, of which before: for *Sagart*, the ordinary word for a Priest, is manifestly form'd from *Sacerdos*.

(76) La pierre levée de Poitiers a soixante pieds de tour, & elle est posée sur cinq autres pierres, sans qu'on sache non plus ni pourquoi, ni comment. CHEVREAU, *Memoires d'Angleterre*, page 380.

they differ in bigness, as all pillars do, and their Altars are ever bigger than the ordinary *Kistieu-vâen*. In some places of Wales these stones are call'd *Meineu-gúyr*, which is of the same import with *Cromlechu*. In Caithness, and other remote parts of Scotland, these Cromleacs are very numerous, some pretty entire; and others, not so much consum'd by time or thrown down by storms, as disorder'd and demolish'd by the hands of men. But no such altars were ever found by OLAUS WORMIUS, the great northern antiquary (which I desire the abettors of Dr. CHARLTON to note) nor by any others in the Temples of the Gothic nations; as I term all who speak the several dialects of Gothic original, from Izeland to Switzerland, and from the Bril in Holland to Presburg in Hungary, the Bohemians and Polanders excepted. The Druids were onely co-extended with the Celtic dialects: besides that CESAR says expressly, there were (77) no Druids among the Germans, with whom he says as expressly that *seeing and feeling was believing* (honoring onely the Sun, the Fire, and the Moon, *by which they were manifestly benefited*) and that they made no sacrifices at all: which of course made altars as useless there (tho afterwards grown fashionable) as they were necessary in the Druids Temples, and which

(77) Germani—neque Druides habent, qui rebus divinis præsint, neque Sacrificiis student. Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, et quorum operibus aperte juvantur; Solem, et Vulcanum, et Lunam: reliquos ne famam quidem acceperunt. *De Bello Gallico, lib. 6.*

they show more than probably to have been Temples indeed ; nor are they call'd by any other name, or thought to have been any other thing, by the Highlanders or their Irish progenitors. In Jersey likewise, as well as in the other neighbouring Ilands, formerly part of the Dutchy of Normandy, there are many Altars and Cromlechs. *There are yet remaining in this Iland* (says Dr. FALLE in the 115th page of his account of Jersey) *some old monuments of Paganism. We call them Pouqueleys. They are great flat stones, of vast bigness and weight ; some oval, some quadrangular, rais'd 3 or 4 foot from the ground, and supported by others of a less size. 'Tis evident both from their figure, and great quantities of ashes found in the ground thereabouts, that they were us'd for Altars in those times of superstition : and their standing on eminences near the sea, inclines me also to think, that they were dedicated to the Divinities of the Ocean. At ten or twelve foot distance there is a smaller stone set up an end, in manner of a desk ; where 'tis suppos'd the Priest kneel'd, and perform'd some ceremonies, while the Sacrifice was burning on the altar.* Part of this account is mistaken, for the culture of the inland parts is the reason that few *Pouqueleys* are left, besides those on the barren rocks and hills on the sea side : nor is that situation alone sufficient for entitling them to the Marine Powers, there being proper marks to distinguish such wheresoever situated.

XV. BUT to return to our Cromleachs, the chiefest in all Ireland was CRUM-CRU-ACH, which stood in the midst of a Circle of twelve Obelisks on a hill in Brehin, a district of the county of Cavan, formerly belonging to Lettrim. It was all over cover'd with gold and silver, the lesser figures on the twelve stones about it being onely of brass; which mettals, both of the stones and the statues that they bore, became every where the prey of the Christian Priests, upon the conversion of that kingdom. The legendary writers of PATRIC's *Life* tell many things no less ridiculous than incredible, about the destruction of this Temple of *Moyselet* (78), or *the field of Adoration*, in Brehin; where the stumps of the circular Oblisks are yet to be seen, and where they were noted by writers to have stood long before any Danish invasion, which shows how groundless Dr. CHARLTON's notion is. The Bishop's Sec of Clogher had its name from one of those stones, all cover'd with gold (*Clochoir* signifying *the golden stone*) on which stood KERMAND KELSTACH, the chief Idol of Ulster (79). This stone is still in being. To note it here by the way, Sir JAMES WARE was mistaken, when, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, he said Arcklow and Wicklow were foren names: whereas they are mere Irish, the first being *Ardelech*, and the second *Bu-*

(78) *Magh-sléucht.*

(79) MERCURIUS CELTICUS,

idhe-cloch, from high and yellow stones of this consecrated kind. 'Tis not to vindicate either the Celtic nations in general, or my own countrymen in particular, for honoring of such stones, or for having stony symbols of the Deity; but to show they were neither more ignorant nor barbarous in this respect than the politest of nations, the Greeks and the Romans, that here I must make a short literary excursion. Wherefore, I beg your Lordship to remember, that KERMAND KELSTACH was not the onely MERCURY of rude stone, since the MERCURY of the Greeks was not portray'd antiently in the shape of a youth, with wings to his heels and a caduceus in his hand; but (80) *without hands or feet, being a square stone*, says PHURNUTUS, and I say without any sculpture. The reason given for it by the Divines of those days, was, *that as the square figure betoken'd his solidity and stability; so he wanted neither hands nor feet to execute what he was commanded by JOVE.* Thus *their merry-making BACCHUS was figur'd among the Thebans by a* (81) *pillar onely.* So the *Arabians worship I know not what God* (says (82) MAXIMUS TYRIUS) *and the statue that I saw of*

(80) Πλαττεται δε και αχειρ, και απους, και τετραγωνος τη σχηματι, δ'Ερμης: τετραγωνος μεν, το εδραιον τε και ασφαλες εχειν —αχειρ δε και απους, οτι ουτε ποδων ουτε χειρων δειται, προς το ανυσιν το προκειμενον αυτω. *De Nat. Deor. cap. 16.*

(81) Στυλος Θεβαιοίσι Διωνυσσος πολυγυθης. *Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. 1.*

(82) Αραβιοι σεβουσι μεν οντινα δ'ουκ οίδα: το δε αγαλμα ο ειδον μθος ην τετραγωνος. *Serm. 38.*

him, was a square stone. I shall say nothing here of the oath of the Romans *per Favem Lapidem*. But no body pretends that the Gauls were more subtil Theologues or Philosophers, than the Arabians, Grecs, or Romans; at least many are apt not to believe it of their Irish Offspring: yet 'tis certain, that all those nations meant by these stones without statues, *the (83) eternal stability and power of the Deity*; and that he cou'd not be represented by any similitude, nor under any figure whatsoever. For the numberless figures, which, notwithstanding this doctrine, they had (some of 'em very ingenious, and some very fantastical) were onely emblematical or enigmatical symbols of the divine attributes and operations, but not of the divine essence. Now as such symbols in different places were different, so they were often confounded together, and mistaken for each other. Nor do I doubt, but in this manner the numerous Carns in Gaule and Britain induc'd the Romans to believe, that MERCURY was their (84) chief God, because among themselves he had such heaps, as I shew'd above; whereas the Celtic heaps were all dedicated to BELENUS, or the Sun. The Roman Historians in particular are often misled by likenesses, as has been already, and will not seldom again, be shown in our *History*; especially with regard to the Gods, said

(83) Το ανεικονιστον του θεου και μονιμον. *Id. Ibid.*

(84) Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. Hujus sunt plurima simulacra, &c. *Caes. de bello Gallico, lib. 6.*

to have been worship'd by the Gauls. Thus some modern Critics have forg'd new Gods, out of the sepulchral inscriptions of Gallic Heroes. I shall say no more of such pillars, but that many of them have a cavity on the top, capable to hold a pint, and sometimes more; with a channel or groove, about an inch deep, reaching from this hollow place to the ground, of the use whereof in due time.

XVI. NOR will I dwell longer here, than our subject requires, on the FATAL STONE so call'd, on which the supreme Kings of Ireland us'd to be inaugurated in times of Heathenism on the hill of (85) *Tarah* (86); and which

(85) *Teambuir*, or in the oblique cases *Teambra*, whence corruptly *Taragh*, or *Tarah*.

(86) The true names of this stone are *Liag-fail* or the fatal stone, and *Cloch na cineambna* or the stone of fortune: both of them from a persuasion the antient Irish had, that, in what country soever this stone remain'd, there one of their blood was to reign. But this prov'd as false as such other prophecies for 300 years, from EDWARD the first to the reign of JAMES the first in England. The Druidical Oracle is in verse, and in these original words:

*Cioniodh scuit saor an fine,
Man ba breag an Faisdine,
Mar a bhsuighid an Lia-fail,
Dligbid flaitheas do ghabbail.*

Which may be read thus truly, but monkishly translated, in HECTOR BOETHIUS:

*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem hunc, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

The Lowland Scots have rhym'd it thus:

*Except old Saws do feign,
And wizards wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reign,
Where they this stone shall find.*

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which being inclos'd in a wooden Chair, was thought to emit a sound under the rightful Candidate (a thing easily manag'd by the Druids) but to be mute under a man of none or a bad title, that is, one who was not for the turn of those Priests. Every one has read of Memnon's vocal statue in Egypt. This fatal stone was superstitiously sent to confirm the Irish Colony in the north of Great Britain, where it continu'd as the Coronation-seat of the Scottish Kings, even since Christianity; till, in the

And some English Poet has thus render'd it;

*Consider Scot, wher'e'er you find this stone,
If Jates sail not, there fixt must be your throne.*

The Irish pretend to have memoirs concerning it for above 2000 years: nay Ireland it self is sometimes, from this stone, by the poets call'd *Inis-fail*. But how soon they begun to use it, or whence they had it, lyes altogether in the dark. What's certain is, that after having long continu'd at Tarah, it was, for the purpose I have mentioned, sent to FERGUS, the first actual King of Scots; and that it lay in Argile (the original seat of the Scots in Britain) till, about the year of Christ 842, that KENETH the 2d, the son of ALPIN, having enlarg'd his borders by the conquest of the Picts, transferr'd this stone, for the same purpose as before, to Scone. So great respect is still paid by Christians to a Heathen Prophecy! not onely false in fact, as I have this moment prov'd; but evidently illusory and equivocal, it being a thing most difficult to find any prince in Europe, who, some way or other, may not claim kindred of every other princely race about him, and consequently be of that blood. This is the case of our present Soverain King GEORGE, who is indeed descended of the Scottish race, but yet in propriety of speech is not of the Scottish line; but the first here of the Brunswick line, as others begun the British, Saxon, Danish, Saxo-Danish, Norman, Saxo-Norman, and Scottish lines. Yet this not being the sense in which the Irish and Scots understand the Oracle, they ought consequently at this very time to look upon it as false, and groundless.

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year 1300, EDWARD the first of England brought it from Scone, placing it under the Coronation-chair at Westminster: and there it still continues, the antientest respected monument in the world; for tho some others may be more antient as to duration, yet thus superstitiously regarded they are not. I had almost forgot to tell you, that 'tis now by the vulgar call'd *JACOB-stone*, as if this had been JACOB's pillow at Bethel (87). Neither shall I be more copious in treating of another kind of stones, tho belonging also to our subject. They are roundish and of vast bulk; but so artificially pitch'd on flat stones, sometimes more, sometimes fewer in number: that touching the great stone lightly, it moves, and seems to totter, to the great amazement of the ignorant; but stirs not, at least not sensibly (for that is the case) when one uses his whole strength. Of this sort is *Maen-amber* in Cornwall, and another in the Peak of Derby, whereof Dr. WOODWARD has given me an account from his own observation. Some there are in Wales, one that I have seen in the Parish of Clunmany (88) in the north of Ireland, and the famous *rocking stones* in Scotland; of all which, and many more, in our *History*. Yet I cou'd not excuse it to my self, if I did not with the soonest, let your Lordship into the secret of this reputed Magic; which the no less learned antiquary than able Physician, Sir ROBERT SIBBALD, has disco-

(87) Gen. 28. 11, 18, 19.

(88) *Cluainmaine*.

ver'd in the appendix to his *History of Fife and Kinross*. That Gentleman speaking of the Rocking-stone near Balvaird (or the Bards town) *I am inform'd*, says he, *that this stone was broken by the usurper [CROMWEL'S] Soldiers; and it was discover'd then, that its motion was perform'd by a yolk extuberant in the middle of the under-surface of the upper-stone, which was inserted in a cavity in the surface of the lower stone.* To which let me add, that as the lower stone was flat, so the upper stone was globular: and that not only a just proportion in the motion, was calculated from the weight of the stone, and the wideness of the cavity, as well as the oval figure of the inserted prominence; but that the vast bulk of the upper stone did absolutely conceal the mechanism of the motion; and the better still to impose, there were two or three Surrounding flat stones, tho that onely in the middle was concern'd in the feat. By this pretended miracle they condemn'd of perjury, or acquitted, as their interest or their affection led them; and often brought criminals to confess, what could be no other way extorted from them. So prevalent is the horror of Superstition in some cases, which led many people to fancy (and among them the otherwise most judicious STRABO) that it might be a useful cheat to society: not considering that in other cases (incomparably more numerous and important) it is most detrimental, pernicious, and destructive, being solely useful to the Priests, that

that have the management of it ; while it not onely disturbs or distresses society, but very often confounds and finally overturns it, of which History abounds with examples.

XVII. I COME now to the DRUID'S HOUSES, by which I don't mean their Forts or towns, of which they had many, but not as Church-lands ; nor yet the houses for their schools, situated in the midst of pleasant groves : but I mean little, arch'd, round, stone buildings, capable only of holding one person, where the retir'd and contemplative Druid sat, when his Oak could not shelter him from the weather. There's another sort of Druid's houses much larger. Of both these sorts remain several yet intire in the Ile of Sky, and also in some other Iles ; being by the Natives (89) call'd *Tighthe nan Druidhneach*, that is, Druids houses. Many of them are to be seen in Wales, and some in Ireland : but different from those under-ground-houses, or artificial Caves, which are in all those places ; consisting frequently of several chambers, and generally opening towards rivers or the sea : having been, as those of the Germans describ'd by (90) TACITUS, magazins against the extreme rigor of winter,

(89) Corruptly *Tinan Druiinich*.

(90) Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant : suffugium hiemi, ac receptaculum frugibus ; quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt. Et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur : abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaestenda sunt. *De moribus German. cap. 3.*

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or hiding places for men and goods in time of war. The vulgar in the Ilands do still shew a great respect for the *Druid's houses*, and never come to the antient sacrificeing and fire-hallowing *Carns*, but they walk three times round them from east to west, according to the course of the Sun. This sanctify'd tour or round by the south, is call'd (91) *Deiseal*; as the unhallow'd contrary one by the north, (92) *Tuapholl*. But the Irish and Albanian Scots do not derive the first (as a certain friend of mine imagin'd) from *Di-sul*, which signifies *Sunday* in Armorican British, as *Dydd-syl* in Welsh and *De-zil* in Cornish do the same; but from (93) *Deas*, the *right* (understanding *band*) and *Soil*, one of the antient names of the Sun, the right hand in this round being ever next the heap. The Protestants in the Hebrides are almost as much addicted to the *Deisiol*, as the Papists. Hereby it may be seen, how hard it is to eradicate inveterate Superstition. This custom was us'd three thousand years ago, and God knows how long before, by their ancestors the antient Gauls of the same religion with them; who *turn'd round right-hand-wise, when they worship'd their Gods*, as (94) *ATHENEUS* informs us out of *POSIDONIUS* a much elder writer. Nor is this con-

(91) *Dextrosum.*

(92) *Sinistrosum.*

(93) Item *Deis.*

(94) Οὗτοι θεοὺς προσκυνουσι, ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά στροφόμενοι. **Lib. 4**
pag. 152.

tradicted,

tradicted, but clearly confirm'd by PLINY, who says, *that the Gauls, contrary to the custom of the (95) Romans, turn'd to the left in their religious ceremonies*; for as they begun their worship towards the east, so they turn'd about, as our Islanders do now, from east to west according to the course of the Sun, that is, from the right to the left, as PLINY has observ'd; whereas the left was among the Romans reputed the right in Augury, and in all devotions answering it. Nor were their neighbors, the Aboriginal Italians (most of 'em of Gallic descent) strangers to this custom of worshipping right-hand-wise, which, not to allege more Passages, may be seen by this one in the (96) *Curculio* of PLAUTUS, who was himself one of them: *when you worship the Gods, do it turning to the right hand*; which answers to turning from the west to the east. It is perhaps from this respectful turning from east to west, that we retain the custom of drinking over the left thumb, or, as others express it, according to the course of the Sun; the breaking of which order, is reckon'd no small impropriety, if not a downright indecency, in Great Britain and Ireland. And no wonder, since this, if you have faith in HOMER, was the custom of the Gods themselves. VULCAN, in the

(95) In adorando dexteram ad osculum referimus, totumque corpus circumagimus; quod in laevum fecisse Galli religiosius credunt. *Hist. Nat. lib. 28. cap. 2.*

(96) Si Deos salutas, dextroorsum censeo. *Act. 1. Scen. 1. ver. 70.*

first book of the (97) *Iliad*, filling a bumper
to his mother JUNO,

*To th' other Gods, going round from right
to left,
Skenk'd Nectar sweet, which from full flask
he pour'd.*

But more of the right hand in the chapter of
Augury.

XVIII. TO resume our discourse about the
Druids houses, one of them in the Iland of
St. KILDA is very remarkable; and, according
to the tradition of the place, must have be-
long'd to a Druides. But be this as it will,
it is all of stone, without lime, or mortar, or
earth to cement it: 'tis also arch'd, and of a
conic figure; but open at the top, and a fire-
place in the middle of the floor. It cannot
contain above nine persons, to sit easy by each
other: and from this whole description 'tis
clear, that the edifice call *ARTHUR'S Oven* in
Sterlingshire, just of the same form and dimen-
sions, is by no means of Roman original, what-
ever our antiquaries have thoughtlessly fancy'd
to the contrary. Some make it the Temple of
TERMINUS, and others a triumphal arch, when
they might as well have fancy'd it to be a hog-
trough: so little is it like any of those arches.

(97) Αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖς ἀλλοῖσι θεοῖς ἐνδοξίᾳ πᾶσιν
ἄνευχετο, γλυκὺ νῆκταρ ἀπο κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων.

Il. 1. ver. 597.

As to the house in St. KILDA, there go off from the side of the wall three low vaults, separated from each other by pillars, and capable of containing five persons a piece. Just such another house in all respects, but much larger, and grown over with a green sod on the outside, is in Bórera, an Ile adjacent to St. KILDA; and was the habitation of a Druid, who 'tis probable was not unacquainted with his neighboring Druids. Shetland abounds with another kind of stone houses, not unfrequent in Orkney, which they ascribe to the Picts; as they are apt all over Scotland to make every thing Pictish, whose origin they do not know. The Belgae or Firbolgs share this honor with the Picts in Ireland, and King ARTHUR is reputed the author of all such fabrics in Wales, except that those of Anglesey father 'em on the Irish. These instances I have given your Lordship, to convince you, how imperfect all *Treatises about the Druids* (hitherto publish'd) must needs be; since they contain nothing of this kind, tho ever so essential to the subject: and that none of these Monuments, very frequent in France, are there ascrib'd to the Druids, their records about such things being all lost; while very many of ours happily remain to clear them, since the usages were the same in both countries. Nor are those *Treatises* less defective in the more instructive part, concerning the *Druidicall Philosophy and Politics*, whereof the modern French and Brittish writers, have in reality known nothing further, than the Classic

authors

authors furnish'd 'em ; or if they add any thing, 'tis absolutely fabulous, ill-invented, and unauthoriz'd. These subjects I reserve intire for my greater work. JOHN AUBREY Esq; a Member of the Royal Society (with whom I became acquainted at Oxford, when I was a sojourner there ; and collecting during my idler hours a Vocabulary of Armorican and Irish words, which, in sound and signification, agree better together than with the Welsh) was the only person I ever then met, who had a right notion of the Temples of the Druids, or indced any notion that the Circles so often mention'd were such Temples at all : wherein he was intircly confirm'd, by the authorities which I show'd him ; as he supply'd me in return with numerous instances of such Monuments, which he was at great pains to observe and set down. And tho he was extremely superstitious, or seem'd to be so : yet he was a very honest man, and most accurate in his accounts of matters of fact. But the facts he knew, not the reflections he made, were what I wanted. Nor will I deny justice on this occasion, to a person whom I cited before, and who in many other respects merits all the regard which the curious can pay ; I mean Sir ROBERT SIBBALD, who, in his foresaid *History of Fife* (but very lately come to my hands) affirms, that there are several Druids Temples to be seen every where in Scotland, particularly in the County he describes. *These* (says he) *are great stones plac'd in a circle, at some distance from each other,*

&c.

&c. Mr. AUBREY shew'd me several of Dr. GARDEN's letters from that kingdom to the same purpose, but in whose hands now I know not.

XIX. I SHALL conclude this Letter with two examples of such works, as tho not (that I can hitherto learn) belonging any way to the Druids, yet they may possibly be of that kind : or be they of what kind you will, they certainly merit our notice ; as, together with those for which we can truly account, they highly serve to illustrate the Antiquities of our Brittish world. My first example is in the Main-land of Orkney, describ'd among the rest of those Islands by Dr. WALLACE and Mr. BRAND ; where, on the top of a high rocky hill at the west end of the Iland near the village of Skeal, there is a sort of pavement, consisting of stones variously figur'd, some like a heart, others like a crown, others like a leg, some like a weaver's shuttle, others of other forms : and so on for above a quarter of a mile in length, and from 20 to 30 foot in breadth. In taking up any of these stones, the figure is as neat on the under-side as the upper : and being as big as the life, all of one color, or a reddish kind of stone pitch'd in a reddish earth, and the pavement being so very long ; it cannot possibly be any of the tessellated, or chequer'd works of the Romans. *I saw a part of the garden wall of the house of Skeal,* says (98) Mr. BRAND, de-

(98) Pag. 43.

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H

corated

corated with these stones : and we intended to have sent a parcel of them to our friends in the south, as a rarity ; if they had not been forgot, at our return from Zet-land. Dr. WALLACE (99) also says, that many of the stones are taken away by the neighboring gentry, to set them up like Dutch tiles in their chimneys : so that, at this rate, in less than a century this pavement will in all likelihood subsist only in books. All such Monuments, when I go to Scotland, I shall so accurately describe in every respect, and give such accounts of them where accountable ; that I hope the curious will have reason to be satisfy'd, or at least some abler person be emulous of satisfying the world, and me among the rest. . . . Wherever I am at a loss, I shall frankly own it ; and never give my conjectures for more than what they are, that is, probable guesses : and certainly nothing can be more amiss in Inquiries of this kind, than to obtrude suppositions for matters of fact. Upon all such occasions, I desire the same liberty with CRASSUS in CICERO *de* (100) *Oratore* : that *I may deny being able to do, what I'm sure I cannot ; and to confess that I am ignorant, of what I do not know.* This I shall not onely be ever ready to do my self, but to account it in others a learned ignorance.

(99) Pag. 55.

(100) Mihi liceat negare posse, quod non potero ; et fateri nescire, quod nesciam. *lib. 2.*

XX. BUT, MY LORD, before I take my intended journey, I desire the favour of having your thoughts upon my next example. I speak of a couple of instances, really parallel; brought here together from parts of the world no less distant in their situation and climates, than different in their condition and manners. Egypt, I mean, and the Isles of Scotland. Yet this they have in common, that Egypt, once the mother of all arts and sciences, is now as ignorant of her own monuments, and as fabulous in the accounts of them, as any Highlanders can be about theirs. Such changes however are as nothing in the numberless revolutions of ages. But to our subject. HERODOTUS says, in the second Book of his *History*, that near to the entry of the magnificent Temple of MINERVA at Sais in Egypt (of which he speaks with admiration) he saw an edifice 21 cubits in length, 14 in breadth, and 8 in height, the whole consisting only of one stone; and that it was brought thither by sea, from a place about 20 days sailing from Sais. This is my first instance. And, parallel to it, all those who have been in Hoy, one of the Orkneys, do affirm (without citing, or many of them knowing this passage of HERODOTUS) that there lies on a barren heath in this Island an oblong stone, in a valley between two moderate hills; call'd I suppose antiphrastically, or by way of contraries, the DWARFY-STONE. It is 36 foot long,

18 foot broad, and 9 foot high. No other stones are near it. 'Tis all hollow'd within, or (as we may say) scoop'd by human art and industry, having a door on the east side 2 foot square; with a stone of the same dimension lying about two foot from it, which was intended no doubt to close this entrance. Within there is, at the south end of it, cut out the form of a bed and pillow, capable to hold two persons: as, at the north end, there is another bed, Dr. WALLACE says a couch, both very neatly done. Above, at an equal distance from both, is a large round hole: which is suppos'd, not onely to have been design'd for letting in of light and air, when the door was shut; but likewise for letting out of smoke from the fire, for which there is a place made in the middle between the two beds. The marks of the workman's tool appear every where; and the tradition of the vulgar is, that a Giant and his wife had this stone for their habitation: tho the door alone destroys this fancy, which is wholly groundless every way besides. Dr. WALLACE thinks it might be the residence of a Hermit, but it appears this Hermit did not design to ly always by himself. Just by it is a clear and pleasant spring, for the use of the inhabitant. I wish it were in Surrey, that I might make it a summer study. As to the original design of this monument, men are by nature curious enough to know the causes of things, but they are not patient enough in their search: and so

will rather assign any cause, tho ever so absurd; than suspend their judgements, till they discover the true cause, which yet in this particular I am resolv'd to do.

XXI. NOW, MY LORD, imagine what you please about the religious or civil use of this stone, my difficulty to your Lordship is; how they were able to accomplish this piece of Architecture, among the rest that I have mention'd, in those remote, barren, and uncultivated Islands? And how such prodigious Obelisks cou'd be erected there, no less than in the other parts of Britain, and in Ireland? for which we have scarce any sufficient machines, in this time of Learning and Politeness. These monuments of every kind, especially the Forts and the Obelisks, induc'd HECTOR BOETHIUS to tell strange stories of the Egyptians having been there in the reign of MAINUS King of Scotland: nor do they a little confirm the notion, which some both of the Irish and Albanian Scots have about their Egyptian, instead of a Scythian, or (as I shall evince) a Celtic original; tho I assign more immediately a British for the Irish, and an Irish extraction for the Scots. Nor is there any thing more ridiculous than what they relate of their Egyptian stock; except what the Britons fable about their Trojan ancestors. Yet a reason there is, why they harp so much upon Egyptians and Spaniards: but altogether misunderstood or unobserv'd by writers. But, not to forget our

Monuments, you will not say (what, tho possible, appears improbable) that, according to the ceaseless vicissitude of things, there was a time, when the inhabitants of these Ilands were as learned and knowing, as the present Egyptians and the Highlanders are ignorant. But say what you will, it cannot fail diffusing light on the subject; and to improve, if not intirely to satisfy, the Inquirer. The Ile of MAN, as I said above, does no less abound in these Monuments of all sorts, than any of the places we have nam'd; and therefore sure to be visited, and all its ancient remains to be examin'd, by,


MY LORD,

July 1.
1718.

Your Lordship's most
oblig'd and very
humble Servant,



THE
THIRD LETTER;
TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE LORD
VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

I,  TAKE the Liberty (MY LORD) to trouble you a third time with the company of the DRUIDS; who, like other Priests, resort always to the place where the best intertainment is to be found: and yet I must needs own, it derogates much from the merit of their visit; that, in the quality of Philosophers they know not where to find a heartier welcome than in your Lordship's study. Tho I have

have very particularly explain'd the plan of my *History of the Druids*, in the two last Letters I did my self the honor to send you on this subject; yet the work being considerably large, and containing great variety of matter, I have still something to impart, in order to give the clearer idea of my design. And it is, that, besides the citations of authors, indispensably requisite in proving matters of fact newly advanc'd, or in deciding of antient doubts and controversies (not to speak of such as come in by way of ornament, or that a writer modestly prefers to his own expressions) I have sometimes occasion to touch upon passages, which, tho' I cou'd easily abridge, or needed but barely hint with relation to the purpose for which I produce them: yet being in themselves either very curious and instructive, or lying in books that come into few people's hands, I chuse to give them in my *History* intire. This method I have learnt from my best masters among the antients, who practis'd it with much success; tho', like them, I use it very sparingly. One or two instances you'll not be sorry to see. The explication I have given, in the 11th section of my first Letter, of OGMIVS, the antient Gallic name of HERCULES, I am no less certain you do not forget, than that you remember I promis'd to take an opportunity of sending you the whole prete; which I have thus translated from the original Greec, with the utmost accuracy. *The Gauls*, says Lu-

(1) LUCIAN, call HERCULES in their country language OGMIOUS. But they represent the picture of this God in a very unusual manner. With them he is a decrepit old man, bald before, his beard extremely gray, as are the few other hairs he has remaining. His skin is wrinkl'd, sunburnt, and of such a swarthy hue as that of old mariners : so that you would take him to be CHARON, or some IAPETUS from the nethermost hell, or any thing rather than HERCULES. But tho he be such thus far, yet he has withall the Habit of HERCULES ; being clad in the skin of a Lion, holding a Club in his right hand, a Quiver hanging from his shoulders, and a bent Bow in his left hand. Upon the whole it is HERCULES. I was of opinion that all these things were perversely done, in dishonor of the Grecian Gods, by the Gauls to the picture of HERCULES : revenging themselves upon him by such a representation, for having formerly over-run their country, and driving a Prey out of it ; as he was seeking after the herd of GERYON, at which time he made incursions into most of the western nations. But I have not yet told, what is most odd and strange in this picture ; for this old HERCULES draws after him a vast multitude of men, all ty'd by their Ears. The cords by which he does this are small fine Chains, artificially

(1) Τον Ἡρακλέα οἱ Κέλται ΟΓΜΙΟΝ ὀνομαζουσι Φώνη τῇ ἐπὶ χροίῳ, et quæ sequuntur in HERCULE Gallico: Græca etenim longiora sunt, quàm ut hic commodè inferi possint.

made

made of gold and electrum, like to most beautiful bracelets. And tho the men are drawn by such slender bonds, yet none of 'em thinks of breaking loose, when they might easily do it; neither do they strive in the least to the contrary, or struggle with their feet, leaning back with all their might against their Leader: but they gladly and cheerfully follow, praising him that draws them; all seeming in haste, and desirous to get before each other, holding up the chains, as if they should be very sorry to be set free. Nor will I grudge telling here, what of all these matters appear'd the most absurd to me. The Painter finding no place where to fix the extreme links of the Chains, the right hand being occupy'd with a Club, and the left with a Bow, he made a hole in the tip of the God's tongue, (who turns smiling towards those he leads) and painted them as drawn from thence. I look'd upon these things a great while, sometimes admiring, sometimes doubting, and sometimes chafing with indignation. But a certain Gaul who stood by, not ignorant of our affairs, as he show'd by speaking Greec in perfection (being one of the Philosophers, I suppose, of that nation) said, I'll explain to you, O stranger, the enigma of this picture, for it seems not a little to disturb you. We Gauls do not suppose, as you Greeks, that MERCURY is SPEECH or Eloquence; but we attribute it to HERCULES, because he's far superior in strength to MERCURY. Don't wonder, that he's represented

Sented as an old man: for SPEECH alone loves to show its utmost vigor in old age, if your own Poets speak true.

All young men's breasts are with thick darkness fill'd:

*But age experienc'd has much more to say,
More wise and learned, than rude untaught youth.*

Thus, among your selves, hony drops from NESTOR's tongue; and the Trojan Orators emit a certain voice call'd Lirioessa, that is, a florid speech; for, if I remember right, flowers are call'd Liria. Now that HERCULES, or SPEECH, shou'd draw men after him ty'd by their Ears to his Tongue, will be no cause of admiration to you; when you consider the near affinity of the Tongue with the Ears. Nor is his Tongue contumeliously bor'd: for I remember, said he, to have learnt certain Iambics out of your own Comedians, one of which says,

The tips of all Prater's tongues are bor'd.

And finally, as for us, we are of opinion, that HERCULES accomplish'd all his atchievements by SPEECH; and, that having been a wise man, he conquer'd mostly by persuasion: we think his arrows were keen Reasons, easily shot, quick, and penetrating the souls of men; whence you have, among you, the expression of

of wing'd words. *Hitherto spoke the Gaul,* From this ingenious picture LUCIAN draws to himself an argument of Consolation : that the study and profession of Eloquence was not unbecoming him in his old age, being rather more fit than ever to teach the *Belles Lettres* ; when his stock of knowlege was most complete, as his Speech was more copious, polish'd, and mature, than formerly.

II. AS my first instance is furnish'd by a man, who, for his Eloquence and love of Liberty (qualities no less conspicuous in your Lordship) deserv'd to have his memory consecrated to Immortality, which was all that the wisest of the ancients understood by making any one a God ; so my second instance shall be taken from a woman, whose frailty and perfidiousness will serve as a foil to those learned Druidesses, and other illustrious Heroines, which I frequently mention in my *History*. I introduce her in a passage I have occasion to allege, when I am proving, that wherever the Gauls or Britons are in any old author simply said to offer sacrifice (without any further circumstances added) this nevertheless is understood to be done by the ministry of the Druids ; it having been as unlawful for any of the Celtic nations to sacrifice otherwise, as it was for the Jews to do so without their Priests and Levites. *The Druids*, says (2) JULIUS CAE-

(2) Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. *De Bello Gallico*, lib. 6. cap. 12.

SAR, perform divine service, they offer the public and private sacrifices, they interpret religious observances: and even when particular persons wou'd propitiate the Gods, for the continuing or restoring of their Health; *they make use of the Druids*, adds he (3), *to offer those sacrifices. 'Tis the establish'd custom of the Gauls*, says (4) DIODORUS SICULUS, *to offer no sacrifice without a Philosopher*, which is to say, a Druid: and STRABO so expresses it, affirming, that (5) *they never sacrifice without the Druids*. This unanswerable proof being premis'd, now follows one of the passages, wherein a Gaul being said simply to sacrifice, I think fit to relate the whole story. 'Tis the eighth of PARTHENIUS of Nicaea's *Love-stories*, related before him (as he says) in the first book of the *History* written by ARISTODEMUS of Nysa, now lost. This PARTHENIUS addresses his book to CORNELIUS GALLUS, for whose use he wrote it, being the same to whom VIRGIL inscrib'd his tenth *Eclog*. The story runs thus. *When (6) the Gauls had made an incursion into Ionia, and sack'd most of the cities, the Thesmophorian festival was celebrated at Miletus; which occasioning all the women to assemble together*

(3) Administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur. *Ibid.*

(4) Εθος δ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ, μηδὲνα θυσιᾶν ποιεῖν ἀνευ φιλοσόφου. *Lib. 5. pag. 308. Edit. Haenou.*

(5) Εἶθον δὲ οὐκ ἀνευ Δρυιδῶν. *Lib. 4. pag. 303. Edit. Amst'.*

(6) Ὅτε δὲ οἱ Γαλαταὶ κατεδράμουν τὴν Ἰωνίαν, et quae sequuntur.

in the Temple, that was not far from the city: part of the Barbarian army, which separated from the rest, made an irruption into the Milesian territory, and seiz'd upon those women; whom the Milesians were forc'd to ransom, giving in exchange a great sum of gold and silver. Yet the Barbarians took some of them away for domestic use, among whom was ERIPE (7) the wife of XANTHUS (a man of the first rank and birth in Miletus) leaving behind her a boy onely two years olde. Now XANTHUS passionately loving his wife, turn'd part of his substance into money, and having amass'd a thousand pieces of gold, he cross'd over with the soonest into Italy; whence being guided by some whom he had intertain'd in Greece, he came to Marseilles, and so into Gaule. Then he went to the house where his wife was, belonging to a man of the greatest authority among the Gauls, and intreated to be lodg'd there: whereupon those of the family, according to that nation's usual Hospitality, cheerfully receiving him, he went in and saw his wife; who running to him with open arms, very lovingly led him to his apartment. CAVARA (8) the Gaul, who had been abroad, returning soon after, ERIPE acquainted him with the arrival of her Husband; and that it was for her sake he came, bring-

(7) ARISTODEMUS calls her GYTHIMIA.

(8) So he's nam'd by ARISTODEMUS: and it is to this day a common name in Ireland. Vid. *AS* for attaining SHANE O NEIL.

ing with him the price of her redemption. The Gaul extoll'd the generosity of XANTHUS, and strait inviting several of his own friends and nearest relations, hospitably treated him; making a feast on purpose, and placing his wife by his side: then asking him by an interpreter what his whole estate was worth, and XANTHUS answering a thousand pieces of gold; the Barbarian order'd him to divide that sum into four parts, whereof he should take back three, one for himself, one for his wife, and one for his little son, but that he shou'd leave him the fourth for his wife's ransom. When they went to bed, his wife heavily chid XANTHUS, as not having so great a sum of gold to pay the Barbarian; and that he was in danger, if he could not fulfill his promise. He told her, that he had yet a thousand pieces more hid in the shoos of his servants; for that he did not expect to find any Barbarian so equitable, believing her ransom wou'd have cost him much more. Next day the wife inform'd the Gaul what a great sum of gold there was, and bids him kill XANTHUS; assuring him, that she lov'd him better than her country or her child, and that she mortally hated XANTHUS. CAVARA took no delight in this declaration, and resolv'd in his own mind from that moment to punish her. Now when XANTHUS was in haste to depart, the Gaul very kindly permitted it, going with him part of the way, and leading ERIFFE. When the Barbarian had

accompany'd them as far as the mountains of Gaule, he said, that, before they parted, he was minded to offer a sacrifice; and having adorn'd the victim, he desir'd ERIPE to lay hold of it: which she doing, as at other times she was accusom'd, he brandish'd his sword at her, ran her thro, and cut off her head; but pray'd XANTHUS not to be at all concern'd, discovering her treachery to him, and permitting him to take away all his Gold. 'Tis no more hence to be concluded, because no Druid is mention'd, that CAVARA offer'd this sacrifice without the ministry of one or more such (unless he was of their number himself, which is not improbable) than that a man of his quality was attended by no servants, because they are not specially mention'd; for ordinary, as well as necessary circumstances, are ever suppos'd by good writers, where there is not some peculiar occasion of inserting them.

III. IN my third instance I return again to HERCULES, of whom a story is told in the same book, whence we had the last; which, tho related and recommended by the author as a good argument for a Poem, affords however no small illustration, to what I maintain by much more positive proofs, *viz. that Great Britain was denominated from the province of Britain in Gaule, and that from Gaule the original inhabitants of all the Brittish Islands (I mean those of CESAR's time) are descended.*

scended. Listen for a moment to PARTHENIUS: 'Tis (9) said that HERCULES, as he drove away from (10) Erythia the oxen of GERYON, had penetrated into the region of the Gauls, and that he came as far as BRETTANNUS, who had a daughter call'd CELTINA. This young woman falling in love with HERCULES, hid his oxen; and would not restore them, till he should enjoy her first. Now HERCULES being desirous to recover his oxen, and much more admiring the beauty of the maid, he lay with her; and in due time was born to them a son nam'd CELTUS (11), from whom the Celts are so denominated. Many of the antient writers mention the incursion of HERCULES into Gaule, when he made war against GERYON in Spain; which the judicious DIODORUS SICULUS shows to have been at the head of a powerful Army, not with his bare Club and Bow, as the Poets feign; and that it was he who built the fortress of Alexia, whereof the Siege, many ages after by JULIUS CESAR, became so famous. DIODORUS likewise tells this very story of PARTHENIUS, but without naming BRETTANNUS or CELTINA.

(9) Λεγεται δε και 'Ηρακλεα, οτε απ' Ερυθειας τας Γηρυονου βους ηγαγεν, αλωμενον δια της Κελτων χωρας, αφικεσθαι παρα Βρεταννον. τω δε αρα υπαρχειν θυγατερα, Κελτινην ονομα: ταυτην δε, ερασθεισαν του 'Ηρακλεους, κατακυψαι τας βους; μη θελιν τε αποδουσαι, ει μη προτερον αυτη μιχθηναι: τονδε Ηρακλεα, το μεν τοι και τας βους απαιγομενον ανεβωσασθαι; πολυ μαλλον το καλλος εκπλαγειντα της μορης, συγγενεσθαι αυτη: και αυτοις, χρονου περιηκοντος, γενεσθαι παιδα Κελτον, αφ' ου δε Κελτοι προσηγορευθησαν. Cap. 30.

(10) Now Cadiz.

(11) GALLŪS, GALLI.

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I

He

He onely says (12), " a certain illustrious man, " that govern'd a Province in Gaule, had a " daughter exceeding the rest of her sex, in " stature and beauty : who, tho despising all " that made court to her, being of a very high " spirit; yet fell in love with HERCULES, " whose courage and majestic person she great- " ly admir'd. With her parent's consent she " came to a right understanding with this hero, " who begot on her a son, not unworthy the " pair from whom he sprung, either in body " or mind. He was call'd GALATES (13), suc- " ceeded his grandfather in the government; " and, becoming renown'd for his valor, his " subjects were call'd *Galatians* (14) after his " name, as the whole country it self *Galatia* " (15)." This is plainly the same story, onely that one writer supplies us with the names, which the other omits; and Armorican Britain being probably the Province, wherein BRETANNUS rul'd (since we find it insinuated, that HERCULES had penetrated far to come to him) 'tis still more than probable, that it was denominated from him: as I shall prove beyond the possibility of contradiction, that our Britain had its name from that of Gaule, as

(12) Της Κελτικής τοινυν το παλαιόν, ως φασιν, εδυνασευσεν επι-
φανες ανηρ, ὃ θυγατερ εγενετο δεσ. —μιχθειςσα δε τῷ Ἡρακλει εγεν-
νησεν υἱον ονομα Γαλατην.—περιβοητος δε γενομενος επ' ανδρεια, τους
επ' αυτον τεταγμενους ωνομαζεν αφ' αυτου Γαλατας, αφ' ὧν ἡ συμ-
πασα Γαλατια προσηορευθη. Lib. 4. pag. 303.

(13) GALLUS.

(14) Galli.

(15) Gallia.

New England has from the Old. HESYCHIUS, in the word BRETANNUS, is of the same opinion with me. So is DIONYSIUS (16) PERIEGETES, with his Commentator (17) EUSTATHIUS: and I am not a little countenanc'd by PLINY the elder, who places (18) Britons on the maritim coasts of Gaule over against Great Britain. But I have more evidence still. To say nothing at present of CESAR so many ages before EUSTATHIUS, TACITUS likewise among the (19) antients, BEDA among those of the middle (20) ages, and some of the most celebrated modern writers, are as express as words can possibly make any thing, that Britain was peopled from Gaule. Nor is the epithet of *Great*, added to our *Britain*, any more an objection to this asser-tion; than the coast of Italy, formerly call'd *Magna Graecia*, cou'd be made the mother

(16) ————— Εὐθα Βρετανοί,
Λευκα τε Φυλα νεμονται αραιμανων Γερμανων.

Ver. 284.

(17) Των δε Βρεττανων ταυτων παρωνυμοι, δι αντιθεραν Βρεττανιδες νησοι.

(18) A Scaldi incolunt externa Toxandri pluribus nominibus: deinde Menapij, Morini, Oromansaci juncti Pago qui Gessoriacus vocatur: * BRITANNI, Ambiani, Bellovaci, Hassi. *Nat. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 17.*

(19) In universum tamen aestimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est: eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitutionum persuasione: Sermo haud multum diversus, &c. *Vit. Agric. cap. 11.*

(20) Haec Insula Britones solum, a quibus nomen accepit, incolas habuit; qui de tractu Armoricano, ut fertur, Britanniam adveſti, australes sibi partes illius vindicârunt. *Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

* In quibusdam exemplaribus, sed perperam, *Brianni*.

country of Greece, when the cities of that coast were all Colonies from thence: besides that *Great Britain* was antiently so call'd with respect to *Ireland*, which (before the fable of the Welsh colony in Gaule was invented) is call'd *Little Britain*, as you'll see anon. These disquisitions come not into *the History of the Druids*, but into the annex *Dissertation concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies*. There you'll see the folly of deriving *Britain* from the fabulous Irish Hero BRIOTAN, or from the no less imaginary BRUTUS the Trojan; nor is the word originally PRIDCAIN, *Prytania*, *Bridania*, or descended from either Phenician, or Scandinavian, or Dutch, or even any Brittish words. The insular Britons, like other Colonies, were long govern'd by those on the continent; and by the neighboring Provinces, who join'd in making settlements here. It was so even as low down as a little before JULIUS CESAR's conquest; in whose (21) *Commentaries* it is recorded, that *those of Soissons had within their memory* (say the ambassadors of Rheims to him) DIVITIACUS (22) *for their King, the most potent Prince of all Gaule: who sway'd the scepter, not onely of a great part of those regions, but also of Britain*. In the same *Dissertation*, after exploding the

(21) Sueffones esse suos finitimos, latissimos feracissimosque agros possidere: apud eos fuisse Regem nostrâ etiam memoriâ Divitiacum, totius Galliae potentissimum; qui, cum magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit. *De Bello Gallico, lib. 2. cap. 4.*

(22) Different from DIVITIACUS the Eduan or Burgundian.

Welsh fable about Britain in France, you'll read as positive proofs, that the ancient Irish, not one of their Colonies excepted (the Nemetes, the Firbolgs, the Danannans, and the Milesians) were all from Gaule and Great Britain; whose language, religion, customs, laws and government, proper names of men and places, they constantly did and do still use: whereas (to forbear at present all other arguments) not one single word of the Irish tongue agrees with the Cantabrian or Biscayan, which is the true old Spanish; the present idiom being a mixture of Latin, Gothic, and Arabic. Besides this, all the antients knew and held the Irish to be Britons, as Ireland it self is by PROLOMY call'd (23) *Little Britain*. They were reckon'd Britons by ARISTOTLE, who in his book *de Mundo*, calls the country (24) *Ierne*; as ORPHEUS before him (25) *Iernis*, if ONOMACRITUS be not the author of the *Argonautica*, or rather, as SUIDAS asserts, ORPHEUS of Crotæna, contemporary with the Tyrant PISISTRATUS. And if this be true, Archbishop USHER did not Gasconnade, when he (26) said, that the *Roman* people cou'd not any where be found so antiently mention'd as *Iernis*. DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES, before

(23) Μικρά Βρεττανία, in Almagest. lib. 2. cap. 6.

(24) Εν τούτῳ γε μὲν [οκεανῷ] νῆσοι μεγάλαι τε τυγχάνουσιν ὡσαύτω, Βρετανικαὶ λεγόμεναι, Ἀλβιον καὶ Ἰερνῆ. Cap. 3.

(25) Ἀγκαιὸς δ' οἰοκας ἐπιστὰς ἐπὶ ταῖσι,
Παρ' δ' ἄρα νῆσον ἀμειβεν Ἰερνίδα—— Vcr. 1340.

(26) *Primord. Eccles. Britannicar. pag. 724.*

cited, is of the same opinion in his *description of the* (27) *world*, that the Irish were Britons: as STEPHANUS *Byzantium* names it (28) *Brittish Juvernia, the least of the two Islands*. DIODORUS SICULUS mentions (29) *the Britons inhabiting the Island call'd Iris*, a name better expressing *Ere* (vulgarly *Erinn*) the right name of Ireland, than *Ierne, Juverna, Hibernia*, or any name that has been either poetically or otherwise us'd. STRABO styles Ireland (30) *Brittish Ierna*, as his antient Abridger calls the Irish (31), *the Britons inhabiting Ierna*: and, if we may intermix ludicrous with serious things, where 'tis now read in the same STRABO, that the Irish were *great eaters* (32) his said Abridger reads it *herb-eaters* (33); which wou'd induce one to believe, that so long ago *Shamrogs* were in as great request there as at present. PLINY says in express words (34), that *every one of the Brittish Islands was call'd Britain; whereas Albion was the distinguishing name of the Britain now peculiarly so call'd, and so famous*.

(27) Δισσαι νησοι εασι Βρεττανιδες αντιζ Ρηνου. Ver. 566.

(28) Ιουερνια ή Πρεταννικη, των δυο ελασσων.

(29) ——— Όσπερ και των Βρετανων, τους κατοικουντας την ονομαζομενην Ιριν. Lib. 5. pag. 309.

(30) Όι την Βρετανικην Ιερνην ιδοντες, &c. Lib. 1. pag. 110.

(31) Όι την Ιερνην νησον κατοικουντας Βρετανοι. Lib. 3.

(32) Πολυφαγοι.

(33) Ποηφαγοι.

(34) Britannia clara Graecis nostrisque scriptoribus—
Albion ipsi nomen fuit, cum Britanniae vocarentur omnes
Insulae nempe Britannicae.] Nat. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 16.

in the Grec and Roman writings. These particulars (I repeat it) much below the dignity of our *History*, will be found in the before-mention'd *Dissertation*; which, tho infinitely less useful, I dare prophesy will be full as much read, if not much more relish'd. The greatest men however have not thought it unbecoming them, to search at their leisure into such Originals: and I, for my part, found it almost a necessary imployment, considering the light it adds to my principal work.

IV. TO return thither therefore, there are diverse passages, some longer some shorter, in the most antient Grec authors we have, or copy'd by these from such as are quite lost; which, tho generally neglected and unobserv'd, will be no small ornament to the *History* I have taken in hand. And, to say it here by the way, 'tis certain that the more antient Grec writers, such as HECATEUS, EUDOXUS, HIPPARCHUS, ERATOSTHENES, POLYBIUS, POSIDONIUS (not to speak of DICEARCHUS and others) knew a great deal of truth concerning the Brittish Ilands: by reason of the frequent navigations of the Grecs into these parts, after the way was shown them by the Phenicians; so antient an author as HERODOTUS affirming, that his countrymen had their Tin from (35) hence, tho he cou'd give little account of the

(35) —Ουτε νησους οίδα Κασσιτεριδας εουσας, εκ των ο ηασσιτερος
 ἔμιν Φυτα. *Lib. 3, cap. 115.*

Iland. But this commerce being interrupted for several ages afterwards, the later writers did not onely themselves vend abundance of fables about these northern parts of the world; but treat as fabulous, what their Predecessors had recorded with no less honesty than exactness. Of this I shall have occasion to give some convincing proofs in this very Letter. But not to forget the passages of the antients, when you call to mind those *Rocking-stones* set up by the Druids, describ'd in the xivth and xvith Section of our second *Letter*, and whereof several are yet standing; you'll not doubt but 'tis one of them, that is mention'd in the Abridgement we have of PTOLOMY HEPHESTION'S *History*: who, in the third chapter of the third book, is said *to have written about the* (36) GIGONIAN STONE *standing near the ocean; which is mov'd with such a small matter as the stalk of asphodel, tho immoveable against the greatest force imaginable.* This passage needs, in my opinion, no comment. But we are to note, when those old writers talk of any thing near the Ocean with respect to the straits of HERCULES (37), and without specifying the place; that it may then be on the coast of Spain, or of France, in the Brittish Ilands, or on any of the northern shores. It is onely to be discover'd either by matter of fact, or by probable

(36) Περι της περι τον Ωκεανον Γιγωνιας πέτρας, και ότι μιν ασφοδελον κινείται, προς ταυαν βίαν αμετακινήτος ευαλ. „

(37) Now of Gibraltar.

circumstances : as this *Gigonian stone* (for example) was necessarily in some of the Celtic or Brittish territories, whose Druids alone set up such stones. So were the Birds, whereof I am now going to speak. *What ARTEMIDORUS has deliver'd concerning the Ravens* (says (38) STRABO) *sounds very much like a fable. He tells us, that there is a certain lake near the Ocean, which is call'd the lake of the two ravens, because two ravens appear in it, which have some white in their wing: that such as have any controversy together come thither to an elevated place, where they set a table, each laying on a cake separately for himself: and that those birds flying thither, eat the one while they scatter the other about; so that he, whose cake is thus scatter'd, gets the better of the dispute. Such fables does he relate!* But I wou'd ask STRABO, what is there fabulous in all this? or why shou'd the rude Gauls and Britons being influenc'd by the eating or not eating of ravens, be thought more strange or fabulous, than the *tripudium solistimum* of chickens among the polite Romans? which CASAUBON, I will not say how truly, thinks was deriv'd from these

(38) Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μυθώδες· πρὸν εἰρηκεν Ἀρτεμίδωρος, τὸ περὶ τοὺς Κορακὰς συμβαῖνον. Λιμένα γὰρ τίνα τῆς παρωκεανίδος ἴσκειν δύο κορακῶν ἐκονομαζομένων; φαίνεσθαι δ' ἐν τούτῳ δύο κορακὰς, τὴν δεξιὰν πτερύγα παραλευκὸν ἔχοντας; τοὺς οὖν περὶ τινὸν ἀμφισβητούσας, ἀφικομένους δυνεὶ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τοποῦ, σάνδα θέντας, ἐπιβάλλειν ψαίδια, ἐκατέρωθεν χωρὶς; τοὺς δ' ὄρνεις ἐφίπταντας τὰ μὲν ἄρῃσιν, τὰ δὲ σκορπίζειν; οὐ δ' ἂν σκορπίσθῃ τὰ ψαίδια, ἐκείνου νικῶν. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μυθώδεα λέγει. *Lib. 4. pag. 303.*

very

very (39) ravens. If STRABO had said, that the Divination it self was superstitious and vain, or that it was ridiculous to imagin the ravens cou'd discern the cake of the guilty from that of the innocent (tho they might greedily eat one of them when hungry, and wantonly sport with the other when their bellies were full) no man of judgement wou'd contradict him. As for ravens having some white in their wings, it contains nothing fabulous, I my self having seen such, and no Ornithologists omitting them. I will own indeed, that so uncommon a thing as white in the wing of a raven, and for a couple of them to hold a place so cunningly to themselves, was enough to work upon the superstitious fancies of ignorant people, who laid such stress above all nations upon Augury; so that in this whole story of the two ravens, nothing appears to me either fabulous or wonderful. Nay I am persuaded ARTEMIDORUS was in the right, there being examples at this time of ravens thus securing a place to themselves; and the first I shall give is, for ought any body knows, the very place hinted by ARTEMIDORUS. Dr. MARTIN, in his *Description of the Iles of Scotland*, discoursing of Bernera (which is five miles in circumference, and lyes about two leagues to the south of Harries) in this Iland, says (40) he, *there's a couple*

(39) In Annotatione ad hunc STRABONIS locum.

(40) Page 47.

of ravens; which beat away all ravenous fowls: and when their young are able to fly abroad, they beat them also out of the Iland, but not without many blows and a great noise.

In this Iland moreover, to remark a further agreement with ARTEMIDORUS, there's a fresh-water lake call'd Loch-bruist, where many land and sea-fowl build. He tells us (41) elsewhere of another such couple, which are of the same inhospitable, or rather cautious and frugal disposition, in a little Iland near North-Uist; and still of such another couple (42), in all respects, upon the Ile of Troda near Sky. But as Eagles were no less birds of Augury than ravens, the Doctor, in his account of a little Iland near the greater one of Lewis (43), says that he saw a couple of eagles there; which, as the natives assur'd him, wou'd never suffer any other of their kind to continue in the Iland: driving away their own young ones, as soon as they are able to fly. The natives told him further, that those eagles are so careful of the place of their abode, that they never kill'd any sheep or lamb in the Iland; tho the bones of lambs, fawns, and wild-fowl, are frequently found in and about their nests: so that they make their purchase in the opposite Ilands, the nearest of which is a league distant. There's such another couple of eagles, and as tender of injuring their native country, on

(41) Page 60.

(42) Page 166.

(43) Page 26.

the north end of St. Kilda (44) which Islands may be view'd in the map of Scotland. I must observe on this occasion, that there's no part of our education so difficult to be eradicated as SUPERSTITION; which is industriously instill'd into men from their cradles by their nurses, by their parents, by the very servants, by all that converse with them, by their tutors and school-masters, by the poets, orators, and historians which they read: but more particularly by the Priests, who in most parts of the world are hir'd to keep the people in error, being commonly back'd by the example and authority of the Magistrate. Augury was formerly one of the most universal Superstitions, equally practis'd by the Greeks and the Barbarians; certain Priests in all nations, pretending, tho by very contrary rites and observations, to interpret the language, the flight, and feeding of birds: as ENEAS thus addresses HELEN the Priest of (45) APOLLO,

*Trojugena, interpres Divum, qui numina
PHOEBI,
Qui tripodas, CLARII lauros, qui sidera
sentis,
Et volucrum linguas, et praepectis omina
pennae,
Fare age.*

(44) Page 299.

(45) Virg. Aen. lib. 3.

Now

Now to comprehend what deep root Superstition takes, and how the sap keeps alive in the stump, ready to sprout forth again, after the trunk and branches have for many ages been cut off; I beg your patience to hear the following story, especially since we are upon the subject of ravens. When I was in Dublin in the year 1697, I walk'd out one day to the village of Finglass, and overtook upon the way two gentlemen of the old Irish stock, with whom I had contracted some acquaintance at the Coffee-house. They told me they were going a good way further, about a business of some importance; and not many minutes after one of 'em cry'd out with joy to the other, see cousin, by heaven matters will go well: pointing at the same instant to a raven feeding and hopping hard by, which had a white feather or two in the wing that was towards us. The other appear'd no less transported, nor would they stir till they saw what way the raven flew; which being to the south of them, and with a great noise, they were fully confirm'd about the success of their business. This brought to my remembrance that oblique Augury in (46) VIRGIL:

(46) ———— Geminae cùm forte Columbae
 Ipsa sub ora viri coelo venêre volantes,
 Et viridi sedêre solo———vestigia pressit,
 Observans quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant.

Aeneid. lib. 6. ver. 190.

Scarce

Scarce had he said, when full before his
sight
Two doves, descending from their airy
flight,
Secure upon the grassy plain alight——
———With watchful sight
Observing still the motions of their flight,
What course they took, what happy signs
they shew ;
They fled, and, flutt'ring by degrees, with-
drew—— &c.

DRYDEN's *Translat.*

Nor was I unmindful, you may be sure, of that passage in (47) PLAUTUS,

'Tis not for nought, that the Raven sings
now on my left ;
And, croaking, has once scrap'd the earth
with his feet.

Upon my putting some questions to those gentlemen, they said it was certain by the observation of all ages, that a raven having any white in its wings, and flying on the right hand of any person, croaking at the same time, was an infallible presage of good luck. I us'd

(47) Non temerè est, quod corvos cantat mihi nunc ab
 laeva manu ;
 Semel radebat pedibus terram, et voce crocitabat
 sua.

Amul. Act. 4. Scen. 3. ver. 1.

a great many arguments to show them the vanity and unreasonableness of this piece of Superstition, comparing it among other extravagancies, to the no less absurd one of dreams; where if one happens by chance to come to pass, while ten thousand fail, these are forgot and the other remember'd. But I am persuaded all I did or cou'd say, even my argument *ad hominem*, in proving that Augury was specially forbid by the Law of MOSES, wou'd have made little impressiion on them; had it not been that they miscarry'd in what they went about, as one of them candidly own'd to me some weeks afterwards, who cou'd then listen to my reasons, and seem'd to taste them. Thus far have I been led by the ravens of ARTEMIDORUS. But I have not rambl'd yet so far after birds as the old Gauls, *whereof a part* (to use the words of (48) JUSTIN after TROGUS) *settled in Italy, which took and burnt the city of Rome; while another part of them penetrated into the Illyric bays, by the slaughter of the Barbarians, and under the guidance of birds,* (FOR THE GAULS EXCELL ALL OTHERS IN THE SKILL OF AUGURY) *settld in Pannonia*: telling next, how, after dividing their forces, they invaded Greece, Macedonia, and most parts of Asia,

(48) Ex his portio in Italia confedit, quae et urbem Romanam captam incendit; et portio Illyricos sinus, ducibus Avibus (nam Augurandi studio Galli praeter ceteros callent) per strages Barbarorum penetravit, et in Pannonia confedit. *Lib. 24. cap. 4.*

where

where they founded the Gallogrecian Tetrarchy. But still you see they were birds, that guided those famous expeditions.

V. I HAVE by good authorities shown before, that the antientest Greec writers had much greater certainty, and knew many more particulars, concerning the Brittish Ilands, even the most remote and minute, than such as came after them; by reason that the Grecian trade hither, open'd first by the Phenicians, had been for a long time interrupted, or rather quite abandon'd. Thus in time the original Relations came to be look'd upon as so many fables, at which I do not so much wonder in any man, as in the most judicious of all Geographers and the most instructive, I mean the Philosopher STRABO. These later Greecs were implicitly credited and transcrib'd by the Roman writers, till Britain came to be fully known, having rather been shown than conquer'd by JULIUS CESAR; and scarce believ'd to be an Iland, tho it was constantly affirm'd to be so by the most antient discoveries, till VESPASIAN's Lieutenant, AGRICOLA, found it beyond all possibility of contradiction to be an (49) Iland, part of the Roman fleet sailing round it. But of the remotest Ilands there has been no exact account from that time to this. That of DONALD MONRO, in JAMES

(49) Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primùm Romana Classis circumveſta, inſulam eſſe Britanniam affirmavit. Tacit. in Vita Agric. cap. 10.

the fifth of Scotland's time, is very imperfect: and tho' in our own time Doctor MARTIN, who is a native of one of those Ilands, has travell'd over them all to laudable purpose; yet his descriptions are in many instances too short, besides that he omits several observations, which his own materials show he ought to have frequently made. Considering therefore the curious things out of him and others, that may be agreeably read in my two former Letters (together with many more accounts of Monuments there, which I have from good hands) I own that I am passionately desirous to spend one summer in those Ilands, before the *History of the Druids* makes its public appearance in the world. But I return to the antient writers who mention the remotest Brittish Ilands, of whom PYTHEAS of Massilia, a Greec colony in Gaule (now Marseilles) is the very first on record. He liv'd in the time of ALEXANDER the great, and publish'd his Geographical work, or rather his Voyages, intitul'd (50) the *Tour of the Earth*, before his contemporary TIMEUS wrote, or DICEARCHUS, or ERATOSTHENES, or POLYBIUS; who follow'd each other, and who in some things disagree. This PYTHEAS, and also one EUTHYMENES, were sent by the Senate of Marseilles to make discoveries; the former to the north, the latter to the south. EUTHYMENES, sailing along the coast of Africa, past the line:

(50) Τῆς περιόδου. Scholiast. in Apollonii Argonautica, lib. 4. ad vers. 761.

and PYTHEAS, landing in Britain and Ireland; as well as on the German coast and in Scandinavia, sail'd beyond Iceland. Both the one and the other made such discoveries, as long past for fables: but time, by means of our modern navigation, has done both of 'em justice. PYTHEAS, on his part, was terribly decry'd by STRABO, who without ceremony calls him (51) *a most lying fellow*; tho he's since found, and now known by every body, to be much more in the right than himself. Nothing is more exact, than what he has related, or that is related after him, of the temperature of the Brititish climate, of the length of the nights and days, of the strange birds and monstrous fishes of the Northern Ocean: nor is it a small loss, that a treatise he wrote in particular of *the Ocean* has perish'd with his other works, whereof we have onely a few fragments. He was the first, for ought appears, that mention'd *Thule*, meaning thereby the utmost inhabited Iland beyond Britain; from which he says it is about (52) six days sail, and near the frozen sea, which perfectly agrees to Iceland. But STRABO denies that there was ever any (53) *Thule*,

(51) Πυθέας ἀνὴρ ψευδοῦς αὐτὸς εἰρητάσαι. *Lib. i. p. 110.*

(52) — Δια Θούλης, ἣν Φησι Πυθέας ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Βρεταννικῆς ἡμερῶν πλῆν ἀπεχεῖν πρὸς ἀρκτόν; ἐγγὺς εἶναι τῆς πεττηγνίας θαλάττης. *Ibid. pag. 109.*

(53) *Tul* in the ancient language signifies naked and bleak, as Iceland has neither tree nor shrub; so that *Tul-i*, without any alteration, is *the naked Iland*, the most proper name for Iceland, and which foreners must have naturally learnt of the Britons, whether Ibernian or Albionian. *Tul,*

Thule, or that any thing beyond Iceland (which he places to the north of Great Britain, whereas it is due west of it) either was or cou'd be inhabited. *They*, says he in his (54) first book, *who have seen Brittish Ireland, speak nothing about Thule, but onely that there are several small Islands near Britain.* In the second book he (55) says, *the utmost place of navigation in our time, from Gaule towards the north, is said to be Ireland; which being situated beyond Britain, is, by reason of the cold, with difficulty inhabited: so that all beyond it,* continues he, *is reckon'd uninhabitable.* This of Ireland, namely, that it is the north of Britain, and scarce habitable for cold, he repeats again in two or three places; from which he draws this conclusion, that there is no Thule at all, since nothing is habitable beyond Ireland: which therefore, according to him, is the most northerly part of the habitable earth. You see here how much more in the right PYTHEAS was, who liv'd in the time of

gach ni noch, Tul is every naked thing, says O CLERY in his *Vocabulary of obsolete words.* It was a slender affinity of sound, that made *Ila* (one of the western Scottish Isles) to be taken for *Thule*; for neither is it the utmost land of Europe, nor yet of the Brittish Islands themselves. See what I have written in the second book concerning the disputes about *Thule*.

(54) 'Οι την Βρετανικὴν Ἰερνὴν ἰδόντες, οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς Θούλης λεγούσιν; ἀλλὰς νήσους λεγόντες μικρὰς περὶ τὴν Βρετανικὴν. *Ibid.* pag. 110.

(55) 'Ο δὲ γε ἀπὸ τῆς Κελτικῆς πρὸς ἀρκτον, πλοῦς ἐσχάτος λεγέται παρὰ τοῖς νυν, ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰερνὴν, ἐπέκεινα μὲν ἦσαν τῆς Βρετανικῆς, ἀθλίως δὲ διὰ ψυχὸς οἰκουμένην: ὥς τε τὰ ἐπέκεινα νομίζεθαι χοιμητὰ. *Id. lib. 2. pag. 124.*

ALEXANDER, than STRABO who liv'd in the time of AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS; and that it is a proceeding no less impertinent than unjust, to have any man contradicted who was upon the spot, but by such others as were also there: unless the things related be manifestly impossible, or that the relator is no competent judge; as if a traveller, who understands no mathematics, should affirm the Malabarians to be the best Mathematicians in the world. But STRABO, who, notwithstanding all these gross mistakes in the extremities of Europe, is one of the foremost authors in my esteem: STRABO, I say, a little lower in the same book, as doubting whether he was in the right, and pretending it was no great matter shou'd he be in the wrong, affirms that at least it is not known whether there be any habitable place beyond Ireland (which he still places to the north of Britain) *nor (56) is it of any importance to the Prince, says he, to have an exact notice of such regions or their inhabitants; especially shou'd they live in such Islands, which cannot contribute any thing to our damage or profit* (meaning the Romans) *there being no intercourse between us.* This reflection might perhaps be true with respect to the Emperor and the Empire: yet it is a very lame reason for a Geographer, who is

(56) Πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν χρεῖαν οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πλεονεκτήμα, τὰς τοιαύτας γνωρίζειν χώρας καὶ τοὺς οἰκούντας: καὶ μάλιστα εἰ νῆας οὖς οἰκεῖν τοιαύτας, αἱ μὴτε λυπεῖν μῆτε ὠφελεῖν ἡμᾶς δυνατόν μὴδὲν, διὰ τὸ ἀνατιπλέκτον. *Ibid.* pag. 176.

accurately to describe all places, let them have relation to his Prince or not. But the truth of it is, he wou'd not believe the antient Greec and Massilian sailors ; neither had he any better information himself, wherby to supply or to correct them,

VI. AS for Ireland, it was very well known to the more antient Geographers, as I shew'd before ; it being directly in the way of the Phenicians (who are said by (57) ARISTOTLE to have discover'd it) when they sail'd for Britain. Lying therefore so conveniently for the Phenicians, Grecians, Spaniards, and Gauls, it was always a place of great trade : and for this reason TACITUS (58) says (agreeable to the Irish annals) *that its ports were better known for trade, and more frequented by merchants, than those of Britain.* Neither is PYTHEAS's account of the frozen sea, any more than that of Thule, a fable. Whoever was in Greenland, knows it to be literally true. It is therefore, in the antient Greec and Roman books, call'd the Icy, the flow, (59) the congeal'd, the dead sea ; as I have read that it is in some Arabic books very properly

(57) Εν τη θαλασση, τη εξ 'Ηρακλειων σελων, Φασιν ὑπο Καρχηδονιαν νησον ευρεθηναι ερημην, εχουσαν ὕλην τε παντοδατη, και ποταμους πλωτους, και τοις λοιτοις Καρποις θαυμασην, απεχουσαν δε πλειονων εμερων ; et quae sequuntur illic reliqua, Hiberniae imprimis convenientia. *De Mirabil. Auscultat.*

(58) Melius aditus portusque, per commercia et negotiatores, cogniti. *Vit. Agric. cap. 24.*

(59) Mare glaciale, pigrum, congelatum, mortuum.

written, the dark sea and the sea of pitch. In the oldest Irish books 'tis call'd by words (60) that import the *foul*, and the *foggy* sea; and likewise *Muir-chroinn*, or the coagulated (61) sea, from the word *Croinn*, which signifies close and thick as well as (62) round. From this original, which PYTHEAS and other travellers learnt no doubt from the Britons, this sea was nam'd (63) *Cronium*: and not (as afterwards invented from the mere sound) because CRONOS, or SATURN, was enchanted in Ogygia, an Iland west of Britain; which is fabulously reported by (64) PLUTARCH and other writers, who have hitherto been inconsiderately follow'd by every body. I wonder they do not affirm after them, since they may do so with equal reason, that some of the west and north Brittish Ilands are possess'd by (65) heroes and departed souls. The northern sea, even before one comes to the Icy part, and perhaps most properly, may be term'd *slow* and *dead*, by reason of the *Roufts*, or

(60) *Muircheacht*, *Muircheach*.

(61) Mare concretum.

(62) *Crunn* has the same signification in Welsh; and *Cronni* or *Croinnigh* in both the languages signifies to gather, to obstruct, to heap, and particularly *Cronni* to thicken or stagnate waters: so that this derivation of the *Cronian*, and *congeal'd sea*, cannot be reasonably call'd in question.

(63) Ἰαλὸς κρονίη.

(64) *De facie in orbe Lunae: de Defectu Oraculor.* Videndi etiam ORPHEUS in *Argonauticis*, PLINIUS, SOLINUS, ISAACIUS TZETZES in *LYCOPHRONIS Alexandram*, &c.

(65) *Iidem consulendi, quorum in Annotatione praeedenti mentio: nec non in HORATII Epodam 16 commentantes legendi.*

meetings of contrary Tides ; whose conflict is sometimes so equal, that they are a great impediment to the boat or ship's way : nay sometimes, tho' under sail, they can make no way at all ; but are very often impetuously whirl'd round, and now and then quite swallow'd up. This kind of shipwrack is no less naturally than elegantly describ'd by VIRGIL, when he relates the fate of ORONTES who commanded a ship under ENEAS :

*Ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus
In puppim ferit ; excutitur, pronusque ma-
gister.*

*Volvitur in caput : ast illam ter fluctus
ibidem*

*Torquet agens circum, et rapidus vorat ae-
quore vortex.*

Aen. lib. 1.

I shou'd not forget here, that, upon the discovery of Thule by PYTHEAS, one ANTONIUS DIOGENES wrote a Romance in twenty four books, which he intitul'd *the Incredibilities of Thule* ; where he laid his scene, and whereof PHOTIUS has given some (66) account. I have dwelt the longer upon these Ilands, because they did not onely, like the other parts of Britain, abound with Druids, who have there left various memorials of themselves :

(66) Των ὑπὲρ Θουλήν ἀπιστων λεγοι κδ. In Bibliotheca, cod. 166.

but also because the last footing they had in the world was here, which makes it little less than essential to my subject. Nor was it in the Ile of *Man* alone, that a peculiar Government was set up by their procurement or approbation; as you have read in my second Letter of their Disciple, the admirable Legislator MANANNAN. There was likewise another Government of their erection, singular enough, in the (67) *Hebudes*; where better provision was made against the changing of an elective into a hereditary Monarchy, and against all other exorbitances of the Prince, than ever I read in any author antient or modern. SOLINUS speaking of these Ilands, *there is one King*, says (68) *he, over them all; for they are, as many as be of them, divided only by narrow channels. This King has nothing of his own, but shares of every thing that every man has. He is by certain Laws oblig'd to observe equity: and lest avarice should make him deviate from the right way, he learns justice from Poverty; as having*

(67) Another name for the Western Iles, equivalent to the *Hebrides*: if they were not originally the same, having perhaps by the mistake of Transcribers been written for each other; nothing being easier, than to confound *ui* with *ri*; or *ri* with *ui*, as antiently written.

(68) Rex unus est universis; nam quotquot sunt, omnes angustâ interlue dividentur. Rex nihil suum habet, omnia universorum. Ad acquitatem certis Legibus stringitur; ac, ne avaritiâ diverrat a vero, discit paupertate justitiam; utpote cui nihil sit rei familiaris, verum alicui e publico. Nulla illi datur foemina propria; sed per vicissitudines, in quacunque commotus sit, usurariam sumit: unde ei nec votum, nec spes, Liberorum, Cap. 22.

no manner of property, being maintained upon the public expence. He has not as much as a wife of his own, but by certain turns makes use of any woman towards whom he has an inclination; whence it happens, that he has neither the desire nor the hope of any children. 'Tis pity this author has not specify'd those Laws, by which equity was prescrib'd to the Hebudian Monarch, in injoying what was proper for him of other men's goods; and that he has not told us, how those vicissitudes were regulated, whereby he had the temporary use of other men's wives, who nevertheless were to father all the children. As I shew'd this passage one day to a couple of my friends, one of them readily agreed, that the State must needs find their account in this constitution; both as it sav'd the expence of treasure in maintaining a numerous Royal Progeny, and as it sav'd the expence of blood in settling their several claims or contentions: but had it not been, said he, for the strict care taken against accumulating riches or power on the Prince, I should have naturally thought, that it was one of those Druidical Priests, who had thus advantageously carv'd for himself. Hereupon the other reply'd, that he fancy'd such Priests wou'd be contented to have plentiful eating and drinking, and variety of women, thus establish'd by Law for them; since it was for no other end, he conceiv'd, but to obtain these, that they struggl'd so hard anywhere for power and riches. But if this were
so,

so, the Druids cou'd be at no manner of loss, about their pleasures; considering the sway they bore in the civil authority, and their management of the much more powerful engine of Superstition: for *without the Druids, who understand Divination and Philosophy*, says (69) DION CHRYSOSTOM, *the Kings may neither do nor consult any thing; so that in reality they are the Druids who reign, while the Kings (tho they sit on golden thrones, dwell in spacious palaces, and feed on costly dishes) are onely their Ministers, and the executioners of their Sentence.* Judge now what influence those Priests had upon the People, when they might thus control the Prince; and consequently, whether they could possibly want any thing, that brought 'em either pleasure or power. The Kings bore all the envy, and the Druids possess all the sweets of authority.

VII. BUT leaving both for a while, I submit to your Lordship's consideration, upon such evidences and proofs as I am going to produce; whether the *Hyperborean Island*, so much celebrated by antiquity, be not some

(69) Κεῖτοι δὲ οὗς ὀνομαζοῦσι Δρυϊδας, καὶ τοὺτους περὶ μαντικὴν ὄντας καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν σοφίαν, ὧν ἀνευ τοῖς Βασιλευσὶν οὐδὲν εἶην πράττειν οὐδὲ βουλευσθαι; ὥς το μὲν ἀληθὲς ἐκείνους ἀρχειν, τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖας αὐτῶν ὑπερητας καὶ διακονοὺς γίνεσθαι τῆς γνώμης, ἐν θρόνοις χρυσοῖς καθημένους, καὶ οἰκίας μεγάλας οἰκούντας, καὶ πολυτιμῶς εὐωχουμένους. *De recusatione Magistrat. in Senatu*, pag. 538. Edit. Paris.

One or more of the remotest Brittish Ilands : and particularly the great Iland of Lewis and Harries, with its appendages, and the adjacent Iland of Sky ; which in every circumstance agree to the description that DIODORUS SICULUS gives of the Iland of the *Hyperboreans*. Let's mention some of those circumstances. He (70) says that the Harp was there in great repute, as indeed it is still ; every Gentleman having one in his house, besides a multitude of Harpers by profession, intertain'd gratis wherever they come. He tells us, that above all other Gods (71) they worshipt APOLLO ; which, in my first *Letter*, I evidently shew they did under the name of BELENUS (72). He says further, that besides a magnificent sacred Grove, APOLLO's remarkable Temple (73) there was round, wherof I have given a particular description and plan in my second Letter (74), it subsisting in great part still. He affirms that they had a peculiar Dialect, which in reality continues the same to this day ; it being *Earse*, or the sixth among the Celtic Dialects I enumerated in my first *Letter* : and approaching so near to that of

(70) Των δε κατοικουντων αυτην τους πλειστους ειναι Κιθαριας.
Lib. 2. pag. 130.

(71) Τον Απολλω μαλιστα των αλλων θεων παρ' αυτοις τιμασθαι,
Ibid.

(72) In the Celtic language BEAL and BEALAN.

(73) 'Επαρχειν δε κατα την νησον τεμενος τε Απολλωνος μεγαλοτροπες, και ναον αξιολογον, αναθημασι πολλοις κεκοσμημενον, σφαιροειδη τω σχηματι. *Ibid.*

(74) Section XI.

the Irish, that these and the Ilanders discourse together without any difficulty. But, omitting several other matters no less concordant, he adds, that the Iland was frequented of old by the (75) Greeks; and in friendship with them; which will be easily admitted, after perusing the fourth and fifth Sections of this present *Letter*, where I manifestly prove this intercourse. I very well know, that others, who are far from agreeing among themselves, do place the Hyperboreans elsewhere: nor am I ignorant that diverse, after the example of (76) ANTONIUS DIOGENES's *Thulian Romance*, have endeavor'd to divert their readers, no less than themselves, with Hyperborean fictions; and so made such variations of site or circumstances, as best suited their several plans, to speak nothing of such as were grossly ignorant in Geography. Allowances ought to be made for all these things. And the Hyperborean continent (which was questionless the most northern part of Scythia, or of Tartary and Muscovy, stretching quite to Scandinavia, or Sweden and Norway) this Hyperborean continent, I say, must be carefully distinguish'd from the Hyperborean Iland; whose soil was more temperate and fertile, as its inhabitants more civiliz'd, harmless, and happy. But, to prevent all cavils, I declare beforehand, that as by *Thule* I mean onely that of PYTHEAS, or Iceland, and not the conjectures

(75) Προς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οικιστὰτα διακρίσθαι, &c. *Ibid.*

(76) See the last Section.

or mistakes of people that liv'd long after him; some making it to be Ireland, others Schetland (which I believe to be the Thule of (77) TACITUS) others the northermost part of Great Britain, and others other (78) places: so by the Iland of the Hyperboreans, I mean that describ'd by DIODORUS SICULUS after HECATEUS and others, as being an Iland *in the Ocean beyond* (79) *Gaule to the north*, or under the Bear, where people liv'd with no less simplicity, than indolence and contentment; and which ORPHEUS, or, if you please, ONOMACRITUS, very rightly places near the (80) Cronian or Dead Sea. 'Tis by this situation, as hereafter more particularly mark'd, that I am willing to be judg'd: showing it also to be an Iland near the *Scots*, whether Hibernian or Albanian; who are, by (81) CLAUDIAN, made borderers on the Hyperborean Sea. From this Iland the Argonauts, after touching there coming out of the Cronian

(77) Insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Despecta est et Thule, quam hactenus nix et hiems abdebat. *In vita Agric. cap. 10.*

(78) See the *Essay concerning the Thule of the Antients*, by Sir ROBERT SIBBALD.

(79) ———— Εν τοις αντιπεραν της Κελτικης τοποις, κατα τον Ωκεανον, ειναι νησον, εκ ελαττω της Σικηλιας; ταυτην υπαρχειν μεν κατα τους αρχτους. *Lib. 2. pag. 130.*

(80) ———— Κρονιοντε επικλησκουσι

Ποντον υπερβορειν μεροτες νεκρηντε θαλασσαν.

Argonaut. ver. 1079.

(81) ———— *Scotumque vago microne secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.*

De 3 Cons. Honor. ver. 55.

Ocean,

Ocean, according to ORPHEUS, sail'd to (82) Ireland in the Atlantic Ocean; and so to the (83) Pillars of HERCULES, where they enter'd again into the Mediterranean (84). No marks can be plainer, so there is no other Iland (those of Faroe and Iceland excepted) but the northwest Brittish Ilands, between the Cronian and the Atlantic Ocean, as every one knows that has once look'd into a map; which expresses situation of the Hyperborean Iland, together with its being said by DIODORUS to ly beyond the Gallic regions towards the north, or the Bear, the frequent use of the Harp there, and the worship of APOLLO in a round Temple, amounts I think to as full a proof as any thing of this nature requires. DIODORUS adds, in the place where I last quoted him, that the Hyperborean City and Temple were always govern'd by the family of the (85) BOREADS (86), who with no more probability were *the descendants of BOREAS*, an imaginary Person or Deity, than the Hyperboreans were so call'd, *from being situated more northerly*

- (82) Λγκαιος δ'οιακας επισταμενος σιταινε,
Παρ δ'αρα νεσον αμειβεν Ιερνιδα—

Ibid. ver. 1178.

- (83) Κυμα διαπρησσοντες, ανα ζομα τερνησοιο
'Ικομεθα, ζηλαισι δ'εκελσαμεν 'Ηρακλειος.

Ibid. ver. 1240.

- (84) Now the Straits of Gibraltar.

(85) Βασιλευσιντε της πολεις ταυτης, και τε τιμενους σταρχειν της
νομαζομενους Βορεαδας, απογονους οντας Βορεου, και καταγενος αιδι
διαδεχασθαι τας αρχας. *Lib. 2. pag. 130.*

- (86) ΒΟΡΕΑΔΕΣ.

than

than the (87) *North-wind*: but in reality they were then, as they are still, govern'd by their chiefs or heads of tribes, whom they call'd in their own language BOIREADHACH; that is to say, the Great ones, or powerful and valiant men, from *Borr*, antiently signifying Grandeur and (88) Majesty. The Greeks have in a thousand instances apply'd foren words to the very different sense of other words approaching to the same sound in their own language. Their first sailors into those parts gave the Ilanders the name of *Hyperboreans*, from their lying *so far towards the North* with respect to the straights of HERCULES; (89) for which I have indisputable authorities; and after having once thus stil'd them, they greedily catch'd at the allusive sound of their Leaders or Magistrates, Grecizing those Grandees, or BOIREADHACH, into BOREADES: which was literally understood in Greece of the fabulous descendants of BOREAS, very consonantly to their Mythology, or, if you will, to their Theology. But I noted (90) before, that

(87) *Απο τη προσωπερω κεισθαι της βορειου πνοης. Lib. 2. p. 130.*

(88) As for these words *Borr* and *Buireadhach* or *Boinadhach* (the vowels *u* and *o* being with us most frequently put for each other) I might appeal to several authentic Manuscripts; but, because such are not obvious to many, I chuse rather to refer my readers to the *Seánasán nuaadh*, or printed vocabulary of obsolete words by O CLERY, and to LUYD's printed *Irish-English Dictionary*: so that these words are no children of fancy, as but too frequently happens in Etymologies. From the same root are *Borragach* courageous, and *Borrbhoradh* awe or worship, with the like.

(89) Now of *Gibraltar*.

(90) Letter II. Section V.

PLATO, in his *Cratylus*, was of (91) *opinion the Greeks had borrow'd many words from the Barbarians ; especially, adds he, such of the Greeks as liv'd in the Barbarian territories*: which may be fairly suppos'd to include those who navigated, or that drove any traffic among them. And hence the divine Philosopher himself draws this accurate (92) inference, *that if any man wou'd endeavor to adjust the Etymologies of those words with the Grec language, and not rather seek for them in that to which they originally belong, he must needs be at a loss*. 'Tis farther most deserving observation, that ERATOSTHENES, an antient Chronologer and Geographer of vast reputation for Learning, speaking of APOLLO's famous *Arrow*, with which he slew the Cyclopes, and in honor of which one of the Constellations is so call'd, says that (93) *he hid it among the Hyperboreans, where there is his Temple made of wings, or a winged Temple*, the words being capable of both senses. If the latter was the meaning of ERATOSTHENES, we have already given the Description of such a winged Temple,

(91) Εννοω γαρ, ὅτι πολλὰ δι' Ἕλληνας ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ δι' ὑπο τοῖς βαρβαροῖς οἰκούντες, παρὰ τῶν βαρβαρῶν εἰληφασί. *Inter Opuscula*, Edit. Paris. Vol. 1. pag. 409.

(92) Εἰ τις ζητοῖ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Φωνὴν ὡς εἰσικοτῶς περταί, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἐκείνην ἐξ ἧς τὸ ὄνομα τυγχάνει, οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι ἔσονται ἀν. *Ibid*.

(93) Ἐκρύψε δὲ αὐτὸ [τὸ τοξικόν] ἐν ὑπερβορείοις, οὐ καὶ ὁ ναὸς ὁ πτερινός. *In Catasterismis, inter Opuscula Mythologica et Physica*. Edit. Amst. pag. 124.

yet standing there : and if the former, no place under heaven cou'd furnish more feathers, nor of more various kinds, to adorn men or buildings, than those same Ilands ; where many of the inhabitants pay their rent with them, and make a considerable profit besides. For this reason perhaps, and not from its promontories, the Ile of Skie is in the language of the natives call'd *Scianach*, (94) or the winged Iland, whereof the English name *Skie* is an abbreviation or corruption. Now, if the Hebrides were the Hyperboreans of DIODORUS (as I fancy it can scarce hereafter be doubted) then the most celebrated ABARIS was both of that Country and likewise a Druid, having been the (95) Priest of APOLLO. SUIDAS, who knew not the distinction of Insular Hyperboreans, makes him a Scythian ; as do some others misled by the same vulgar error, tho DIODORUS has truly fix'd his country in the Iland, not on the continent. And indeed their fictions or blunders are infinite concerning our *Abaris*. This is certain however among 'em all, that he travell'd quite over (96) Greece, and from thence into Italy, where he familiarly convers'd with PYTHAGORAS ; who

(94) *Oilean Sciathanach*.

(95) Το μὲν γὰρ ὅτι τὸν μῆρον χρυσοῦν ἐπεδείξεν Ἀβαριδὶ τῷ Ἑπερβορῶν, εἰκασάντι αὐτὸν Ἀπολλῶνα εἶναι τὸν ἐν Ἑπερβορῶν, οὕτως ἢ ἱερεὺς ὁ Ἀβαρὶς, βεβαιοντα εἰς τοῦτο ἀληθεὺς τεθρυλλήσεται. Porphyrius in vita Pythagorae. Eadem, et iisdem equidem verbis habet Famblichus, Lib. I. cap. 28.

(96) Πασαντὼς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπερβορῶν Ἀβαρὶν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταστῆσαντα τὸ παλαιόν, &c. Ubi supra.

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favor'd

favor'd him beyond all his Disciples, by imparting his doctrines to him (especially his thoughts of nature) in a more compendious and plainer method, than to any others. This distinction cou'd not but highly redound to the advantage of ABARIS. For, the reasons of PYTHAGORAS's backwardness and retention in communicating his doctrines, being, in the first place, that he might eradicate (if possible) out of the minds of his Disciples all vitious and turbulent passions, forming them by degrees to a habit of virtue, which is the best preparative for receiving Truth; as, next, to fit them, by a competent knowlege of the Mathematical Sciences, for reasoning with exactness about those higher contemplations of nature, into which they were to be initiated; and, lastly, to have repeated proofs of their discretion in concealing such important discoveries from the *ignorant* and the *wicked*, the latter being unworthy, and the former incapable of true Philosophy: it follows therefore, that he judg'd ABARIS already sufficiently prepared in all these respects, and so he oblig'd him with an immediate communication of his most inward sentiments; conceal'd from others under the vail of numbers, or of some other enigmatical Symbols. The Hyperborean in return presented the Samian, as if he had equal'd APOLLO himself in Wisdom, with the *sacred Arrow*; riding astride which he's fabulously reported by the Greec writers, to have flown in the air over rivers and lakes, forests and

moun-

mountains: as our vulgar still believe, and no where more than in the Hebrides, that wizards and witches waft whither they please upon Broom-sticks. But what was hid under this Romantic expedition, with the true meaning of the *Arrow* it self, the nature of the predictions that ABARIS spread in Greece, and the doctrines that he learnt at Crotona; with the conceit of these Hyperboreans that LATONA the mother of APOLLO, was born among them, nay that he was so too, and their most exact astronomical cycle of nineteen years: these particulars, I say, you'll read at large in my *History of the Druids*, stript of all fable and disguise; as well as a full discussion of the Question (about which ancient writers are divided) *whether the DRUIDS learnt their* (97) *symbolical and enigmatical method of teaching, together with the doctrine of Transmigration from PYTHAGORAS, or that this Philosopher had borrow'd these particulars from the DRUIDS?* The communication between them was easy enough, not only by means of such travellers as PYTHAGORAS and ABARIS, but also by the nearness of Gaule to Italy: tho there will still remain another Question, viz. whether the Egyptians had not these things before either of them; and therefore whether they did not both receive them from the Egyptians?

(97) Και φασι τους μεν Γυμνοσοφιστας και Δρυιδας ανιγματιτως αποφθεγγομενους φιλοφησαι. Diogen. Laert. in precept. Sect. 6.

VIII. YET before all things we must here examine what can be offer'd, with any color, against our account of *the Hyperborean Iland*; after that so many circumstances, and particularly the situation, seem to point demonstratively to the true place: nor certainly, when things are duely consider'd, will the objections that have been started in private conversation (as I know of no other that can be publicly made) be found to have the least difficulty. Thule or Iceland, rightly plac'd by CLAUDIAN in the (98) Hyperborean Climate, besides the incongruities of the soil and the intemperateness of the air; is distinguish'd by DIODORUS himself from the Iland in question: and the Iles of Faroe, being onely a parcel of barren rocks of very small extent, without any monuments of antiquity, deserve not so much as to be mention'd on this occasion. Neither indeed has any of my acquaintance insisted on either of these. But DIODORUS (says one of 'em) tho exactly agreeing to your situation or that of ORPHEUS, and that your other circumstances do perfectly tally to his description: yet is different in this, that he speaks onely of one Iland, not less than (99) Sicily; whereas you understand this of several Ilands, which

(98) ————Te, quò libet ire, sequemur:
Te vel Hyperboreo damnatam fidere Thulen,
Te vel ad incensas Libyae comitabor arenas.
In Rufin. lib. 2.

(99) Ουκ ελαττω της Σικελιας. *Ubi supra.*

altogether have scarce that extent. I answer, that the marks of the right place which I have mentioned already, and such others as I shall presently alledge, will more than counterbalance any mistake (if there be any) about the bigness of the Iland. Travellers and Mariners, who either have not been ashore or not staid long enough in any place to survey it, are known to speak onely by guess, and frequently very much at random. Has not Great Britain it self (so much celebrated, as PLINY justly (100) writes, by the Greec and Roman authors) been taken to be of vast extent, and not certainly known by the Romans to be an Iland, till the time (101) of VESPASIAN? Endless examples of this kind might easily be produc'd. And as for the multitude of those Ilands, which are separated onley by narrow channels, it makes nothing at all against me. For, besides that such an aggregation of Ilands is often taken in common speech for onely one; as not to go out of our own Dominions, such is Schetland, in name one country, but in effect consisting of more than 30 Ilands: so there are several indications, join'd to the Tradition of the Inhabitants (of which see Dr. MARTIN in his *Account of Saint Kilda* and elsewhere) that some of those western Ilands have been formerly united, and many of them nearer each other than at present.

(100) See Section III.

(101) See Section V.

However, taking them as they now are, Lewis, otherwise call'd *the Long Island*, being at least a hundred miles in (102) length, Skie forty, several of the rest above four and twenty each, and all appearing as one Island (having many winding bays or inlets) to one who sails without them, or that touches onely at some of the greatest; considering this, I say, the mistake will not be reckon'd so enormous in a sailor or stranger, if he compares them in the lump to Sicily for extent. Another person granting all this, objects that DIODORUS represents the Hyperborean Island a very (103) temperate region; which, according to my friend, cannot be said of any place in the northern Latitude of 58, and partly of 59. But whoever has travell'd far himself, or read the Relations of such as have; will be convinc'd that the seasons in every region of the world, do not always answer to their position: of which the causes are various, as huge ridges of mountains, the neighborhood of vast lakes or marshes, winds blowing from places cover'd with snow, or the like. Thus Britain and Ireland are known, not onely to be much more temperate than the places on the Continent of the same position with them,

(102) I reckon as Dr. MARTIN and the natives do, from the most northerly point of Lewis to Bernera south of Barra, this string of Islands being onely divided by channels mostly fordable: and if it be consider'd that I make use of Scottish miles, every place is at least a third part more, according to the English or Italian measure.

(103) Οὐσαν δ' αὐτὴν εὐγειοντε καὶ παμφόραν, ἐπὶ δὲ τυκρασία διαφερουσαν, διττοὺς κατ' ἑτοὺς ἐκφέρειν καρπούς. *Ubi supra.*

but even than some of such as are more southerly; by reason of the salt vapors and continual agitations of the surrounding Ocean, which dissolve, allay, and mitigate the frosts and winds blowing from the Continent. This holds as true with regard to the Hebrides, which by experience are allow'd to be yet more temperate; the snow not lying near so long as in Britain, and a tepid vapor being very sensible there in the midst of winter. This was enough to fill the Grec sailors with admiration, which to us ought to be none; since their learned men often spoke of many places, not as they actually were in themselves, but as in their speculations they imagin'd they ought to be: without considering whether there might not occur some of the diversifying circumstances we have just now hinted, or any others begetting the like influences. But that most sagacious interpreter of nature, HIPPOCRATES, knew better things, when he taught what he learnt by experience (having been an Ilander himself) that Ilands, situated (104) far in the sea, are kindly warm, and that no snow can lie on them in winter; while such as are near the shore become scarce habitable for cold, by reason of the snow and ice remaining on the continent, which from thence transmit bleak winds into those Ilands. The antients, who

(104) Των δε νησων, αι μεν εγγυς των ηπειρων, θυρχειμωρτεραι ειναι: αι δε ποντιαι, αλεινοτεραι τον χειμωνα: διοτι αι χιονες και παγοι εν μεν τησιν ηπειραισιν εχουσι ρασιν, και τα πνευματα ψυχρα πεμπουσιν ες τας εγγυς νησους. Τα δε πελαγια ουκ εχει ρασιν εν χειμωνι. *De Diæta, lib. 2. cap. 3.*

judg'd of places where they never were by their bare positions, did consequently enough from thence conclude the torrid Zone to be inhabitable : but since this Zone has not onely been frequently visited, but is daily penetrated to the temperate and cold Zones beyond it, 'tis not onely found every where inhabited ; but those breezes and showers, with other causes, that make living there very comfortable, are the common themes of Philosophers. This brings me to the last, and seemingly the strongest Objection, viz. that the Hyperborean Iland of DIODORUS, or rather of HECATEUS and others long before him, was so plentiful as to have (105) two crops a year. Yet this expression, upon a fair construction, will be so far from embarrassing, that it will highly illustrate my explication. It onely signifies great plenty and abundance, which I cou'd instance by many passages of the antients ; but shall chuse the nearest home I can, and that is what (106) VIRGIL says of Italy :

*Perpetual spring our happy Climate sees,
Twice breed the cattle, and twice bear the
trees ;*

And summer suns recede by slow degrees.

DRYDEN'S Translation.

(105) Read the *Note* immediately preceding, bateing one.

(106) Hic vēr affiduum, atque alienis mensibus æstas ;
Bis gravidæ pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbos.

Georgic. lib. 2.

But

But who is ignorant, that this is not literally true? and as to the plenty meant by it in general, 'tis certain that no country abounds more with the necessaries of life, and at less labor or charge, than the Hebrides. I shall dwell so much the longer on this head, as my *History* may possibly reach further than the Celtic Nations. Wherefore, in the first place, there is known to be in those Islands a prodigious plenty of Flesh and Fish. Their cattle of all sorts (as Cows, Sheep, Goats, and Hogs) are exceeding numerous and prolific: small indeed of size, as are likewise their Horses, but of a sweet and delicious taste. So are their Deer, which freely range in herds on the Mountains. No place can compare with this for tame and wild fowl, there being of the latter no where in the world a greater diversity, many sorts of 'em extremely beautiful or rare, and utterly unknown elsewhere. The like may be said of their various amphibious animals. Numberless are their fountains and springs, rivulets, rivers, and lakes, very wholesome in their waters, and every where superabounding with fish, especially the most delicate, as Trout and Salmon: nor is it by Herrings alone that all Europe knows no Seas to be better stor'd, nor with more kinds, from the shrimp to the whale; as no harbors or bays are superior, whether regard be had to number or commodiousness. Add to this their variety of excellent roots and plants, particularly those of marine growth, every one of them

them serving for food or physic. Their pastures are so kindly, that they might live on milk alone, with that inconceivable quantity of Eggs they yearly gather of the desert rocks and Ilets. But flesh and fish, milk-meats, eggs, and sallads in the greatest abundance (some will be apt to say) are slender and comfortable food without the staff of bread. On this assertion, tho I might fairly dispute it from the practice of whole nations, and the experience of particular persons no strangers to me, I will not however insist; bread, among their other productions, being plentiful enough in the Hebrides, which sometimes cannot be said of the neighboring Ilands. The ground is generally allow'd to be much richer than on the Scottish continent, some parts whereof are not seldom supply'd (107) hence with corn: and I have also such proofs of it from Dr. MARTIN (who, when he wrote his *Description* of those Ilands, was far from dreaming of the *Hyperboreans*) as will sufficiently justify the expression of DIODORUS about their crops or harvests. Lewis is very fruitful: and tho Barley, Oats, and Rye, be the onely grain sown there at present; yet the ground both in that, and in most of the other (108) Ilands is fit to bear wheat, and consequently Legumes of all sorts. 'Tis truly amazing they have any crop at all, considering how unskilful they are in Agriculture, how destitute of the properest

(107) See Dr. MARTIN's *Description*, page 140.

(108) Page 33, 337, &c.

instruments to till the ground, and that they scarce use any other manure but sea-wrack or tangles. From the ignorance of the inhabitants in these respects, as also in planting, inclosing, and draining, many fruitful spots ly uncultivated: but the abundance of choice Eatables (and namely the most nourishing shell-fish of various kinds) with which they are richly supply'd by bountiful nature, contributes more than any thing to that Indolence, which the antient Greecs esteem'd their Happiness. The goodness of the soil appears by nothing more evidently, than by the want of cultivation, whereof I have been just complaining. Dr. MARTIN, who was an Ey-witness, and strictly examin'd the fact, affirms (109) that in Bernera, near Harries, the produce of Barley is many times from twenty to thirty-fold; that in Harries and South-Uist (110) one barley-grain sometimes produces from seven to fourteen ears, as in North-Uist from ten to thirty-fold (111) in a plentiful year; that at Corchattan, in Skie, the increase (112) amounted once to thirty-five; that if the ground be laid down for some time, it gives a good (113) crop without dunging, some fields not having been dung'd in forty years; and that he was inform'd a small tract of ground, at

(109) Page 42.

(110) Ibid.

(111) Page 53.

(112) Page 132.

(113) Page 139.

Skerry-breck (114) in the said Ile of Skie, had yielded a hundred-fold. Nay, I have been told my self by a native of that Ile, that the people there believe they might have two crops a year, if they took due pains. For this I beg'd their pardon, but allow'd what was tantamount, since the words of DIODORUS may no less justly be render'd *a double crop*, than *two* (115) *crops*, which last however is in some respects literally true. For with regard to their pastures (of which somewhat before) nothing is more common than for a sheep to have two (116) lambs at a time. This not only confirms my construction, and puts me in mind of that verse in (117) VIRGIL,

She suckles twins, and twice a day is milk'd :

but also of what the so often mention'd Dr. MARTIN relates on this (118) occasion; which is, that besides the ordinary rent a tenant paid, it was a custom in the Ilands, if any of his cows or sheep brought two young ones at a time, one of them was to go to the Landlord : who, on his part, was oblig'd, if any of his tenant's wives bore twins, to take one of them into his own family ; and

(114) Ibid.

(115) Διτλους καρπους.

(116) Page 108.

(117) Bis venit ad mulctram, binos alit ubere foetus.

Eclog. 3. ver. 30.

(118) Page 109.

that

that he himself knew a Gentleman, who had sixteen of these twins in his house at a time. 'Tis no wonder they are populous. Even the wild Goats on the Mountains, for such there are in Harries, are observ'd to bring (119) forth their young twice a year: all which put together, makes the last objection against me to be none, and therefore finally justifies my explication of the passage in DIODORUS. From hence 'tis evident, MY LORD, that those Islands are capable of great improvement, as they abound likewise in many curiosities, especially in Subjects of Philosophical observation. Nor is it less plain by the many antient Monuments remaining among them, and the marks of the plow reaching to the very tops of the mountains (which the artless inhabitants think incapable of culture) that in remote ages they were in a far more flourishing condition than at present. The ruins of spacious houses, and the numerous Obelisks, old Forts, Temples, Altars, with the like, which I have describ'd (120) before, undeniably prove this: besides that the country was formerly full of woods, as appears by the great Oak and Firr-trees daily dug out of the ground, and by many other tokens; there being several small woods and coppices still remaining in Skie, Mull, and other places. Tho I don't pretend, no more than DIODORUS, that these were *the fortunate*

(119) Page 35.

(120) Letter II. Sections VIII, IX, X, &c.

Ilands of the Poets, or the Elyzian-fields of the dead, by some plac'd in those (121) seas, as by others elsewhere ; yet the following lines of (122) HORACE agree to no spot better, than the *Ilands* we have been just describing.

————— *From lofty hills*
With murmuring pace the fountain trills.
There Goats uncall'd return from fruitful
vales,
And bring stretch'd dugs to fill the pails.
No bear grins round the fold, no lambs he
shakes ;
No field swells there with poy'snous
snakes.
More we shall wonder on the happy plain:
The wat'ry East descends in rain,
Yet so as to refresh, not drown the fields ;
The temperate glebe full harvest yields.
No heat annoys : the ruler of the Gods
From plagues secures these blest abodes.

CREECH'S Translation.

(121) Videas Annotationem 63 & 64.

(122) ————— Montibus altis

Levis crepante lympa defilit pede.
 Illic injussae veniunt ad mulctra capellae,
 Refertque tenta grex amicus ubera.
 Nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile,
 Nec intumescit alta viperis humus.
 Pluraque felices mirabimur : ut neque largis
 Aquosus Euris arva radat imbribus,
 Pinguis nec ficcis urantur semina glebis ;
 Utrumque Rege temperante Coelitem.

Epod. 16. ver. 47.

The

The Inhabitants (that I may make a complete commentary on the passage of DIODORUS) are not to be mended in the proportion of their persons: no preposterous bandages distorting them in the cradle, nor hindring nature from duely forming their limbs; which is the reason, that bodily imperfections of any sort are very rare among them. Neither does any over-officiously preventive Physic in their infancy, spoil their original constitution; whence they have so strong a habit of body, that one of them requires treble the dose, as will purge any man in the south of Scotland. But what contributes above all things to their health and longevity, is constant Temperance and Exercise. As they prefer conveniency to ornament both in their houses and their apparel (which last I think not disagreeable) so, in their way of eating and drinking, they rather satisfy than oppress nature. Their food is commonly fresh, and their meals two a day, water being the ordinary drink of the vulgar. They are strangers to many of the Distempers, as they are to most of the Vices of other nations, for some of which they have not so much as a name: and it may no less truly be observ'd of these than of the ancient Scythians, that (123) the ignorance of vices has had a better effect upon them, than the knowlege of Philosophy upon

(123) Tantò plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quam in his [Græcis nimirum] cognitio virtutis. JUSTIN.
Hist. lib. 2. cap. 2.

politer

politer nations. They owe every thing to nature. They cure all disorders of the body by simples of their own growth, and by proper diet or labor. Hence they are stout and active, dextrous in all their exercises; as they are with all remarkably sagacious, choleric but easily appeaz'd, sociable, good natur'd, ever cheerful, and having a strong inclination to Music: all which particulars, with the other parts of their past and present character, I have not onely learnt from the concurrent testimonies of several judicious authors; but also from the intimate knowlege I have had my self of many scores of the natives, as well in Scotland as elsewhere. They are hospitable beyond expression, intertaining all strangers of what condition soever gratis; the use of money being still in some of those Ilands unknown, and till a few ages past in all of them. They have no Lawyers or Attorneys: which, no more than several other particulars here specify'd, I do not understand of the Highlanders on the continent; tho speaking the same language, and wearing the same dress with them. The men and women plead their own causes; and a very speedy decision is made by the Proprietor, who's Perpetual president in their courts, or by his Bailiff as his substitute. In a word, they are equally void of the two chief plagues of Mankind, LUXURY and AMBITION; which consequently frees them from all those restless pursuits, consuming toils, and never-failing vexations, that men suffer elsewhere for those airy,

airy, trifling, shortliv'd vanities. Their contempt of superfluities is falsely reckon'd Poverty, since their felicity consists not in having much, but in coveting little; and that he's supremely rich, who wants no more than he has: for as they, who live according to nature, will never be poor; so they, who live according to opinion, will never be rich. 'Tis certain that no body wants, what he does not desire: and how much easier is it not to desire certain things, than otherwise? as it is far more healthy and happy to want, than to enjoy them. Neither is their ignorance of vices in these Ilands any diminution to their virtue, since (not being by their situation concern'd in any of the disputes about dominion or commerce, that distract the world) they are not onely rigid observers of Justice, but show less propensity than any People to tumults; except what they may be unwarily led into by the extraordinary deference they pay to the opinion of their Chiefs and Leaders, who are accountable for the mischiefs they sometimes bring (as at this very (124) time) on these well-meaning HYPERBOREANS. For Hyperboreans I will now presume to call them, and withall to claim A-BARIS as a Philosopher of the Brittish world, which has principally occasion'd this Digression; on that account not improper, nor, I hope, altogether useless in other respects. Be this as your Lordship shall think fit to judge, I

(124) 1719.

VOL. I.

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will not finish it before I have acquainted you with an odd custom or two, that have from time immemorial obtain'd in Barra and the lesser circumjacent Ilands, which are the property of MAC-NEIL. The present is the thirty fifth Lord of Barra by uninterrupted lineal descent, a thing whereof no Prince in the world can boast: and he's regarded, you may imagine, as no mean potentate by his subjects, who know none greater than he. (125) When the wife of any of 'em dies, he has immediate recourse to his Lord, representing first his own loss in the want of a meet help; and next that of MAC-NEIL himself, if he should not go on to beget followers for him. Hereupon MAC-NEIL finds out a suteable match (neither side ever disliking his choice, but accepting it as the highest favor) and the marriage is celebrated without any courtship, portion or dowry. But they never fail to make merry on such occasions with a bottle or more of Uf-quebah. On the other hand, (126) when any woman becomes a widdow, she's upon the like application soon provided with a husband, and with as little ceremony. Whoever may dislike this Hyperborean manner of preventing delay, disdain, or disappointment, yet he cannot but approve MAC-NEIL's conduct, in supplying (127) any of his tenants with as many Milch-cows, as he may chance to lose by the

(125) MARTIN, page 97.

(126) Ibid.

(127) Ibid.

severity of the weather, or by other misfortunes; which is not the less true charity, for being good policy. Most worthy likewise of imitation is his taking into his own family (building a house hard by on purpose for them) and maintaining to the day of their death, as many old men, as, thro age or infirmity, (128) become unfit for labor. But I shou'd never have done, if I proceeded with the particular usages of the North and West Islanders. Several of them, retain'd from the remotest times of the Druids, are explain'd in this and the preceding Letters. Yet one custom (very singular) I cannot help relating here; tho long since grown obsolete; or rather that it has been in disuse, ever since their conversion to Christianity. When a man had a mind to have a wife, (129) as soon as he gain'd the consent of the maid he lik'd, he took her to his bed and board for a whole year; and if, upon thus coming thoroly acquainted with the conditions both of her mind and body, he kept her any longer, she then became his wife all her days: but if he dislik'd her to such a degree on any account, as to be perswaded she shou'd not make him easy during life, he return'd her (with her portion, if she had any) at the twelve month's end to her parents or guardians; legitimating the children, and maintaining them at his own

(128) Page 98.

(129) Page 114.

charge, in case there were such. Nor was this repudiation any dishonor or disadvantage to the young woman in the eyes of another man, who thought she wou'd make him a better wife, or that he might to her be a better husband. It was a custom, I must own, like to prevent a world of unhappy matches: but, according to our modern ideas, 'tis not onely unlawful, but also barbarous.

IX. TO return whence I digress'd, having thus happily discover'd and asserted the country of ABARIS, and also his profession of a *Druid*; I shall give here some account of his person, referring to another place the History of his adventures. The Orator HIMERIUS, tho one of those, who, from the equivocal sense of the word *Hyperborean*, seems to have mistaken him for a Scythian; yet accurately describes his person, and gives him a very noble character. That he spoke Greek with so much facility and elegance, will be no matter of wonder to such as consider the antient intercourse, which we have already prov'd between the Greeks and the Hyperboreans: nor wou'd the latter, to be sure, send any ambassador (as we'll see presently they did ABARIS) to the former, unless, among the other requisite qualifications, he perfectly understood their language. But let's harken a while to HIMERIUS. *They relate*, says he, *that ABARIS the Sage was by nation a Hyperborean, become a Grecian in speech, and*

resembling a Scythian in his habit and appearance. Whenever he mov'd his tongue, you wou'd imagine him to be some one out of the midst of the Academy or very Lyceum (130). Now that his habit was not that of a Scythian ever cover'd with skins, but what has been in all ages, as generally at this present, worn in the Hebrides and the neighboring Highlands, it needs onely to be describ'd for removing all doubts and scruples. *ABARIS came to Athens, continues* (131) *HIMERIUS, holding a bow, having a quiver hanging from his shoulders, his body wrapt up in a plad, girt about his loins with a gilded belt, and wearing trowzers reaching from the soles of his feet to his waste. A gun and pistol, being of modern date, cou'd make no part of his equipage: and you see he did not make his entry into Athens riding on a broom-stick, as fabulously reported, but in the native garb of an aboriginal Scot. As for what regards his abilities, 'twas impossible for his principals to have made a better choice; since we are inform'd by the*

(130) Αβαριν μεν σοφον γενος μεν Ὑπερβορειον λεγουσιν, Ἕλληνα δὲ Φωνην γεγενησθαι, καὶ Σκυ' ἦν μεν ἀχρὶ τροχῆς δὲ καὶ σχήματος. Εἰ δὲ που γλωττίαν κινήσειε, τοῦτο ἐκείνον ἐκ μέσης Ἀκαδημίας καὶ αὐτοῦ Λυκείου νομίζεσθαι. . *Ex Oratiene ad URSICIUM apud PHOTIUM in Biblioth. cod. 243, edit. Rothomag. pag. 1135.*

(131) Ἦκεν Αβαρις Ἀθηναῖς τοῖς αἰσιν ἔχων, Φαρετραν ἡμμενος εἰς ὤμων, χλαμυδι σφιγγομενος: ζωνὴ ἣν κατ' ἰσχυον χρυσοῖ, ἀναξυρίδες ἐκ τάρσων αἰσιν ἀχρὶ καὶ γλουτων ἀνατεινόμεναι. *Id. ibid.*

same (132) HIMERIUS, that *he was affable and pleasant in conversation, in dispatching great affairs secret and industrious, quick-sighted in present exigences, in preventing future dangers circumspect, a searcher after wisdom, desirous of friendship, trusting indeed little to fortune, and having every thing trusted to him for his prudence.* Neither the Academy nor the Lyceum cou'd furnish out a man with fitter qualities, to go so far abroad and to such wise nations, about affairs no less arduous than important. But if we attentively consider his moderation in eating, drinking, and the use of all those things, which our natural appetites incessantly crave; adding the candor and simplicity of his manners, with the solidity and wisdom of his answers (all which we'll find sufficiently attest-ed) it must be own'd, that the world at that time had few to compare with ABARIS.

THUS I have laid before your LORDSHIP a Specimen of my History of the Druids. Give me leave to send you with this Letter two small Pieces which I don't doubt will be agreeable to you. One is Mr. Jones's *Answer to Mr. Tate's Questions about the Druids, and the other British Antiquities*, which I transcrib'd

(132) Ἦν ἡδὺς εὐτυχεῖν, δεινὸς ἡσυχῇ μεγάλην πρᾶξιν ἐργασσάσθαι, οὐκ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἰδεῖν, προμηθεύς τῷ μέλλοντι φυλάττειν, σοφίας ἡγίων, εὐφροσύνης Φιλίας, ὀλίγα μὲν τύχῃ πείσονται, γνῶμη δὲ τὰ πάντα πείσονται. *Id. ibid.*

from

OF THE DRUIDS. 183

from a Manuscript in the Cotton Library (133); and the other, some Collections mention'd in one of my Letters (134), shewing the Affinity between the Armoric and Irish Language, &c. I am,

MY LORD,

April, 18,
1719.

Your Lordship's most
oblig'd and very
humble Servant.

(133) Vitel. E. v. 6.

(134) Letter II. §. 18. pag. 112.

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Mr.

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MR. T A T E's
 QUESTIONS
 ABOUT THE
 DRUIDS
 AND OTHER
 BRITISH ANTIQUITIES,
 WITH
 Mr. JONES's ANSWER
 TO THEM.

Mr. TATE's QUESTIONS.

I.  Y what names were they call'd by the Brittons, which the Latins call *Druidae* or *Druides*?

II. Whether the *Druids* and *Flamens* were all one, and the difference between them? how the *Flamens*

Flamens were called in Brittish, and their antiquity and habits?

III. WHAT Degrees were given to the Professors of Learning? when, where, and by whom, and their habits or apparel?

IV. WHETHER the *Barth* had any office in war answering our Heralds? their garments and ensigns? and whether they us'd the *Caduceus*? many fetching the original thereof from the Britton's charming of serpents.

V. WHAT Judges and Lawyers had the Brittons that follow'd the King? and what are *Tri anhepcor Brenhin*, and their use?

VI. WHAT Judges and Lawyers were there resident in the Country? their number? what Judges were there *per dignitatem Terrae*? and what their duty? and how were they assembled to do the same?

VII. IT appeareth there were always many Kings and Princes in this Realm before the coming in of the Saxons: were their countries divided into *Talaiths*, as all between Severn and the Sea was after their coming?

VIII. WAS there any division into Shires before the Saxon's coming, and what difference betwixt a Shire and a *Swydh*? There were anciently with you *Maenors*, *Commods*, *Cantreths*, answerable wherunto are our *Manors*, *Tythings*, *Hundreds*. And that maketh me to encline that *Swydh* shou'd be like our Shire, as *Swyd caer Bhyrdin*, *Swyd Amwythig*, *Swyd caer Wrangon*; and the General Officers

Officers of them were called *Swydogion*, under whom were *Maer*, *Gnghellawr*, *Rkingkill*, *Ophiriat*, and *Brawdur trawyr Swyd*, except all bear the name of *Swydogion*. I find in an ancient Book of Landaff *Gluigu* or *Glivisus* King of Demetia (which of this King is call'd *Glenguiffig*) of whom it is said *septem pagos rexit*, whereof *Glamorgan*, now a Shire, was one; and *pagus* is us'd for a Shire.

IX. WHETHER the Britons had Noblemen bearing the name of *Duces*, *Comites*, *Barones*? and what they were called in British? In the Book of Landaff I find it thus written, *Gandeleius Rex totam regionem suam Cadoco filio suo commendavit, privilegiumque concessit, quatenus a fonte Faennun haen donec ad ingressum fluminis Nadavan pervenitur, omnes Reges et Comites, Optimates, Tribuni, atque domestici in Coenobij sui coemeterio de Lancarvan sepeliantur*. And K. Ed. I. enquiring of the Laws of the Britons, demandeth how the Welsh *Barons* did administer justice, and so distinguish them from *Lords Marchers*.

X. WHAT is the signification of the word *Affach*? A statute of K. Hen. 6. saith, some offer'd to excuse themselves by an *Affach* after the custom of Wales; that is to say, by an oath of 30 men.


XI. WHAT officer is he that in the Laws of *Howel Da* is called *Distein*, and the signification of the word?

XII. WHAT do you think of this place of Petrus Ramus in his book *de moribus veterum Gallorum*: *Hae civitates Brutos suos habebant. Sic a Caesare nominantur Senatus Eburonicum, Lexobiorum, Venetorum.* Was there any Counsil or Senate in the Brittish Government, and by what name were they call'd?

Mr. JONES's ANSWERS

T O

Mr. TATE's QUESTIONS

I.  O the first I say, that *Druides* or *Druidae* is a word that is derived from the Brittish word *Drudion*; being the name of certain wise, discreet, learned, and religious Persons among the Brittons. *Drudion* is the plural number of this primitive word *Drud*. By adding *ion* to the singular number, you make the plural of it *secundum formam Britannorum*; sic *Drud*, *Drudion*. This primitive word *Drud* has many significations. One signification is *Diakwr*, that is a revenger, or one that redresseth wrong; for so the Justicers call'd *Drudion* did supply the place of Magistrates. Another signification *Krevlon*, and that signifies cruel and merciless; for they did execute

execute justice most righteously, and punish offenders most severely. *Drud* signifies also *glew* and *prid*, that is, valiant or hardy. *Drud* is also dear or precious, unde venit *Drudanieth*, which is Dearth. These *Drudion* among the Brittons by their office did determine all kind of matters as well private as publick, and were Justicers as well in religious matters and controversies, as in Law matters and controversies, for offences of death and title of Laws. These did the sacrifices to the Heathen Gods, and the sacrifices could not be made without them, and they did forbid sacrifices to be done by any man that did not obey their decree and sentence. All the Arts, Sciences, Learning, Philosophy, and Divinity that was taught in the land, was taught by them; and they taught by memory, and never would that their knowledge and learning should be put in writing: whereby when they were suppress by the Emperor of Rome in the beginning of Christianity, their Learning, Arts, Laws, Sacrifices, and Governments were lost and extinguishd here in this land; so that I can find no more mention of any of their deeds in our tongue than I have set down, but that they dwelled in rocks, and woods, and dark places, and some places in our land had their names from them, and are called after their names to this day. And the Iland of *Mone* or Anglesea is taken to be one of their chiefeest seats in Britain, because it was a solitary Iland full of wood, and not in-

inhabited of any but themselves; and then the Ile of Mone, which is called Anglesea, was called *yr Inys Dowyll*, that is, the dark Iland. And after that the *Drudion* were suppressed, the huge groves which they favor'd and kept a-foot, were rooted up, and that ground till'd. Then that Iland did yield such abundance and plenty of corn, that it might sustain and keep all Wales with bread; and therefore there arose then a proverb, and yet is to this day, viz. *Mon mam Gymbrru*, that is, *Mon* the mother of Wales. Some do term the proverb thus, *Mon mam Wynedd*, that is, *Mon* the mother of Northwales, that is, that *Mon* was able to nourish and foster upon bread all Wales or Northwales. And after that this dark Iland had cast out for many years such abundance of corn where the disclos'd woods and groves were, it surceas'd to yield corn, and yielded such plenty of grafs for cattle, that the Countrymen left off their great tilling, and turn'd it to grazing and breeding of cattle, and that did continue among them wonderful plentiful, so that it was an admirable thing to be heard, how so little a plat of ground shou'd breed such great number of cattle; and now the inhabitants do till a great part of it, and breed a great number of cattle on t'other part.

II. AS for the second Question, I do refer the exposition of it to those that have written of the *Flamens* in Latine. The *Drudion* in Britain, according to their manner and custom, did

did execute the office and function of the *Flamens* beyond the sea: and as for their habits, I cannot well tell you how, nor what manner they were of.

III. TO the third Question: There were four several kinds of Degrees, that were given to the Professors of Learning. The first was, *Disgibliysbas*, and that was given a man after three years studying in the art of Poetry and Musick, if he by his capacity did deserve it. The second degree was *Disgibldisgybliaidd*, and that was given to the Professor of Learning after six years studying, if he did deserve it. The third degree was *Disgiblpengerddiaidd*; and that was given to the Professor of Learning after nine years studying, if he did deserve it. And the fourth degree was *Penkerdd* or *Athro*, and *Athro* is the highest degree of Learning among us, and in Latine is called Doctor. All these degrees were given to men of Learning as well Poets as Musicians. All these foresaid degrees of Learning were given by the King, or in his presence in his Palace, at every three years end, or by a License from him in some fit place thereunto (appointed) upon an open disputation had before the King or his Deputy in that behalf, and then they were to have their reward according to their degrees. Also there were three kinds of Poets. The one was *Prududd*: the other was *Teuluwr*: the third was *Klerwr*. These three kinds had three several matters

to treat of. The *Prududd* was to treat of Lands, and the praise of Princes, Nobles, and Gentlemen, and had his circuit among them. The *Tevluwr* did treat of merry jests, and domestical pastimes and affairs, having his circuit among the Countrymen, and his reward according to his calling. The *Clerwr* did treat of invective and rustical Poetry, differing from the *Prududd* and *Tevluwr*; and his circuit was among the Yeomen of the Country. As for their habits, they were certain long apparel down to the calf of their leggs or somewhat lower, and were of diverse colours.

IV. TO the fourth Question I say, the *Bard* was a Herald to record all the acts of the Princes and Nobles, and to give arms according to deserts. They were also Poets, and cou'd prognosticate certain things, and gave them out in metre. And further there were three kinds of *Beirdd* (the plural of *Bardd*) viz. *Privardd*, *Poswardd*, *Arwyddwardd*. The *Priveirdd* (plurally) were *Merlin Silvester*, *Merlin Ambrosius*, and *Taliesin*; and the reason they were call'd *Priveirdd* was, because they invented and taught such Philosophy and other Learning as were never read or heard of by any man before. The interpretation of this word *Privardd* is Prince, or first learner, or learned man: for *Bardd* was an appellation of all learned men, and professors of Learning, and Prophets, as

also were attributed to them the titles of *Privardd*, *Posvardd*, and *Arwyddvardd*. *Bardd Telyn*. And they call *Merlin Ambrosius* by the name of *Bardd Gortheyrn*, that is, *Vortiger's Philosopher*, or *learned man*, or *Prophefyer*. *Bardd Telyn* is he that is Doctor of the Musicians of the Harp, and is the chief harp in the Land, having his abode in the King's palace : and note no man may be called *Privardd*, but he that inventeth such Learning, and Arts, or Science, as were never taught before. The second kind of *Bardd* is *Posvardd*, and those *Posveirdd* were afterwards *Prydiddion* : for they did imitate and teach what the *Priveirdd* had set forth, and must take their author from one of them ; for they themselves are no Authors, but registers and propagators of the Learning invented by the others. The third kind is *Arwyddvardd*, that is by interpretation an *Ensign-bard*, and indeed is a Herald at Arms ; and his duty was to declare the Genealogy and to blazon the Arms of Nobles and Princes, and to keep the record of them, and to alter their Arms according to their dignity or deserts. These were with the Kings and Princes in all battles and actions. As for their Garments, I think they were long, such as the *Prydiddion* had ; for they challenge the name of *Beirdd* ut supra. Whereas some writers, and for the most part all foreners that mention the *Beirdd*, do write that *Bard* has his name given him from one *Bardus*, who was the first inventor of *Bar-*

Barddonieth, and some say he was the fourth King of Brittain; I say it is a most false, erroneous, and fabulous surmise of foren writers, for there never was any of that name either a King or King's son of Brittain. But there was a great scholar and inventor both of Poetical verses and musical Lessons that was some time King of Brittain. His name was *Blegywryd ap Geisyllt*, and he was the 56th supreme King of Great Brittain, and dy'd in the 2067th year after the deluge, of whom it is written that he was the famousst Musician that ever lived in Britain. No writer can shew that *Bard* had his name from *Bardus*, it being a primitive Britnish word that has the foresayd significations. And *Barddonieth* (which is the art, function, and profession of the *Bardd*) is also us'd for Prophecy and the interpretation thereof, and also for all kinds of Learning among us that the *Beirdd* were authors of.

V. AS for the fifth Question, the King had always a chief Judge resident in his Court, ready to decide all controversies that then happen'd, and he was called *Egnat Llys*. He had some privilege given him by the King's household officers, and therefore he was to determine their causes gratis. As for the *tri anhebkor brenin*, I think it superfluous to treat of them here, seeing you have this matter in my Book of Laws more perfect than I can remember it at this time. Look in the Table

among the *trioedd kyfraith*, and those are set down in two or three several places of the Book. And if you cannot find it there, see in the office of *Egnat Llys*, or *Penteulu*, or *yffeiriaid llys*, and you'll be sure to find it in some of those places. I do not find in my Book of Laws, that there were any officers for the Law that did dwell in the King's Palace, but onely his *Egnat Llys*, that was of any name, or bore any great office: for he was one of the *tri anhebbkor brenin*.

VI. AS for the sixth Question, I say that there were resident in the Country but *Egnat Comot*, that I can understand. But when an Assembly met together for the title of Lands, then the King in his own Person came upon the Land; and if he cou'd not come, he appointed some Deputy for him. There came with the King his chief Judge, and called unto him his *Egnat Komot*, or County-Judge, together with some of his Council that dwelt in the *Komot*, where the Lands lay that were in the controversy, and the Free-holders also of the same Place, and there came a Priest or Prelate, two Counsellors, and two *Rhingill* or Serjeants, and two Champions, one for the Plaintiff and another for the Defendant; and when all these were assembled together, the King or his Deputy viewed the Land, and when they had viewed it, they caused a round Mount to be cast up, and upon the same was the Judgment Seat placed, having his back to-

ward the sun or the weather. Some of these Mounts were made square and some round, and both round and square bore the name of *Gorseddeu dadle*, that is, the Mount of Pleading. Some also have the name of him that was chief Judge or Deputy to the King in that judicial Seat; and it was not lawful to make an assembly no where for title of Lands, but upon the Lands that were in controversy. These *Gorsedde* are in our Country, and many other places to be seen to this day; and will be ever, if they be not taken down by men's hands. They had two sorts of Witnesses, the one was *Gwybyddyeid*, and the other *Ambhiniogev*. The *Gwybyddyeid* were such men as were born in the *Komot*, where the Lands that were in controversy lay, and of their own perfect knowledge did know that it was the Defendants right. And *Ambhiniogev* were such men as had their Lands mearing on the Lands that were in controversy, and hemmed up that Land. And the Oath of one of those *Ambhiniogev*, otherwise called *Keidweid*, was better than the Oath of twain that were but *Gwybyddyeid*. Look in the Table of my Book of Laws for the definition of *Keidweid*, *Ambhiniogev*, and *Gwybyddyeid*, and how the King did try his Causes; and that will manifest it more at large. The *Mayer* and the *Kangellawr* had no authority amongst the Brittons for any lands but the Kings lands; and they were to set it and let it, and to have their circuit amongst the King's tenants; and

they did decide all Controversies that happened amongst them. Vide in the Table of my Book of Laws for the Definition of *Mayer* and *Kangellarwr*.

VII. TO the seventh Question, I say that there were in this Land about a hundred superial Kings, that governed this Land successively; that were of the Brittish blood: yet notwithstanding there were under them divers other Princes that had the name of Kings, and did serve, obey, and belong to the superial King, as the King of *Alban* or *Prydyn*, or Scotland, the King of *Kymbery* or Wales, the King of *Gwneydd* or Venedotia. Yet notwithstanding the same law and government was used in every Prince or King's dominion, as was in the superial King's proper dominion; unless it were that some Custom or Privilege did belong to some place of the Kingdom more than to another: and every inferiour King was to execute the Law upon all transgressors that offended in their dominion.

In the time of Kassibelanus there arose some controversy between the superial King Kaffallawne and Ararwy King of London, one of his inferior Kings, about a murther committed. The case is thus. The superial King keeping his Court within the dominion of one of the inferior Kings, a controversy falling between twain within the Court, and there and then one was slain, the Question is, Whether the murtherer ought to be tryed by

by the officers and privilege of the superior King, or of the inferior King. I think that the murthrerer ought to be tried by the Law and Custom of the inferior King's Court, because it is more seemly that the superior King's Court, which did indure in that Country but a week or twain, or such like time, should lose his privilege there for that time, than the inferior King's Court should lose it for ever. *Vide in libro meo de legibus.* It may seem to those that have judgment in histories, that this was the very cause that Ararwy would not have his kinsman tried by the Judges and Laws or privilege of Kaswallawne, whose Court did remain in the dominion of Ararwy but a little while, but would have the felon tried by his Judges and his Court. There is no mention made of *Talaith* any where amongst the Brittons before the destruction of Brittain, but that there were in Brittain but one superial Crown and three *Talaith* or Coronets or Prince's Crowns; one for the Alban, another for Wales, and the third for *Kerniw* or Kornwale. There were divers others called Kings which never wore any Crown or Coronet, as the Kings of *Dyved* in South Wales, the King of *Kredigion*, and such, and yet were called Kings, and their Countries were divided as you shall see in the next Question,

VIII. TO the eighth Question, I say, that according to the primitive Law of this Land,

N 3

that

that *Dyfnwal Moel Mvd* made, for before the Laws of *Dyfnwal Moel Mvd* the Trojan laws and customs were used in this Land, and we cannot tell what division of Lands they had, nor what officers but the *Druidion*, he divided all this Land according to this manner, thus: *Tribud y gronin haidd*, or thrice the length of one Barly Corn maketh a *Modvedd* or inch, three *Modvedd* or Inches maketh a *Palf* or a Palm of the hand, three *Palf* or Palm maketh a *Troedvedd* or foot, 3 feet or *Troedvedd* maketh a *Kam* or Pace or a stride, 3 *Kam* or strides to the *Naid* or leape, 3 *Naid* or leape to the *Grwmg*, that is, the breadth of a Butt of Land or *Tir*; and *mil* of those *Tir* maketh *Miltir*, that is, a thousand *Tir* or mile. And that was his measure for length which hath been used from that time to this day; and yet, and for superficial measuring he made 3 *bud gronin haidd*, or Barley Corn length, to the *Modvedd*, or Inch, 3 *Modvedd* or Inch to the *Palf* or hand breadth, 3 *Palf* to the *Troedvedd* or foot, 4 *Troedvedd* or foot to the *Veriav* or the short yoke, 8 *Troedvedd* or foot to the *Neidiav*, and 12 *Troedvedd* or foot in the *Gesttiliav* and 16 *Troedvedd* in the *Hiriav*. And a Pole or Rod so long, that is 16 foot long, is the breadth of an Acre of Land, and 30 Poles or Rods of that length, is the length of an *Erw* or Acre by the Law, and four *Erw* or Acre maketh a *Tyddyn* or Messuage, and four of that *Tyddyn* or Messuage maketh

a *Rhandir*, and four of those *Rhandiredd* maketh a *Gafel* or Tenement or Hoult, and four *Gafel* maketh a *Tref* or Township, and four *Tref* or Townships maketh a *Maenol* or *Maenor*, and twelve *Maenol* or *Maenor* and *dwyr dref* or two Townships maketh a *Kwmwd* or *Gomot*, and two *Kwmwd* or *Gomot* maketh a *Kantref* or *Cantred*, that is a hundred Towns or Townships. And by this reckoning every *Tyddyn* containeth four *Erw*, every *Rhandir* containeth sixteen *Erw*, and every *Gafel* containeth sixty four *Erw*. Every Town or Township containeth two hundred fifty six *Erw* or Acres, these *Erws* being fertile arable Land, and neither meadow nor pasture nor woods. For there was nothing measured but fertile arable ground, and all others was termed wastes. Every *Maenol* containeth four of these Townships, and every *Kwmwd* containeth fifty of these Townships, and every *Cantred* a hundred of these Townships, whereof it hath its name. And all the Countries and Lords dominions were divided by *Cantreds* or *Cantre*, and to every of these *Cantreds*, *Gomots*, *Maenors*, *Towns*, *Gafels* were given some proper names. And *Gwlad* or Countrey was the dominion of one Lord or Prince, whether the *Gwlad* were one *Cantred* or two, or three or four, or more. So that when I say he is gone from *Gwlad* to *Gwlad*, that is, from Countrey to Countrey, it is meant that he is gone from one Lord or Prince's dominion to another Prince's dominion; as for example

ample, when a man committeth an offence in *Gwynedd* or *Northwales*, which containeth ten *Cantreds*, and fleeth or goeth to *Powys*, which is the name of another Country and Prince's dominion, which containeth ten other *Cantreds*, he is gone from one Country or dominion to another, and the Law cannot be executed upon him, for he is gone out of the Country. *Tegings* is a Country and containeth but one *Cantred*, and *Dyfrn Glwyd* was a Country, and did contain but one *Cantred*. And when any did go out of *Tegings* to *Dyfrn Glwyd*, for to flee from the law, he went out from one Country to another. And so every Prince or Lord's dominion was *Gwlad* or Country to that Lord or Prince, so that *Gwlad* is *Pagus* in my judgment. Sometimes a *Cantred* doth contain two *Comot*, sometimes three, or four, or five; as the *Cantrefe* of Glamorgan or *Morganwg* containeth five *Comots*. And after that the Normans had won some parts of the Country, as one Lord's dominion, they constituted in that same place a Senescal or Steward, and that was called in the Brittainish tongue *Swyddog*, that is an Officer; and the Lordship that he was Steward of was called *Swydd* or Office, and of these *Swyddev* were made Shires. And *Gwydd* is an Office be it great or small, and *Swyddog* is an Officer likewise of all states; as a Sheriff is a *Swyddog*, his Sheriff-ship or Office, and the Shire whereof he is Sheriff, is called *Swydd*. So that *Swydd* doth contain

as well the Shire as the Office of a Sheriff, as *Swydd Amwythig* is the Shire or Office of the Steward, Seneschal, or Sheriff of Salop, &c.

IX. A S for the ninth Question, The greatest and highest degree was *Brenin*, or *Teyen*, that is, a King; and next to him was a *Twysog*, that is a Duke; and next to him was a *Farll*, that is an Earl; and next to him was an *Arglwydd*, that is a Lord; and next to him was a *Barwn*, and that I read least of. And next to that is the *Breir* or *Vchelwr*, which may be called the Squire: next to this is a *Gwreange*, that is a Yeoman; and next to that is an *Altud*; and next to that a *Kaeth*, which is a Slave; and that is the meanest amongst their nine several Degrees. And these nine Degrees had three several tenures of Lands, as *Maerdir*, *Vchelordir*, *Priodordir*. There be also other names and degrees, which be gotten by birth, by office and by dignity; but they all are contained under the nine aforesaid Degrees.

X. A S for the tenth Question, I do not find nor have not read neither to my knowledge, in any Chronicle, Law, History or Poetry, and Dictionary, any such word: but I find in the Laws and Chronicles, and in many other places this word *Rhaith* to be used for the oath of 100 men, or 200 or 300, or such like number, for to excuse some heinous fact; and

and the more heinous was the fact, the more men must be had in the *Rhaith* to excuse it; and one must be a chief man to excuse it amongst them, and that is called *Penrhaith*, as it were the foreman of the Jury, and he must be the best, wisest, and discreetest of all the others. And to my remembrance the *Rhaithwyr*, that is the Men of the *Rhaith*, must be of those that are next of kin, and best known to the supposed offender, to excuse him for the fact.

XI. AS for the eleventh Question, I say that I find a Steward and a Controller to be used for a *Distain* in my *Dictionary*. I cannot find any greater definition given it any where, then is given it in my Book of Laws. Vide *Distaine*, in the Table of my Book of Laws.

XII. TO the twelfth Question, I say, that the Brittons had many Councils, and had their Counsellors scatter'd in all the Lordships of the Land. And when any controversy or occasion of Counsel happen'd in *Swynedd*, the King called his Counsellors that had their abode there, for to counsel for matters depending there, together with those that were there of his Court or Guard: for the King had his chief Judge and certain of his Council always in his company; and when the King had any occasion of Counsel for matters depending in *Demetia*, or *Powys*, or *Cornwal*,
he

he called those of his Counsel that dwelled in those coasts for to counsel with them. And they went to a certain private house or tower on a top of a hill, or some solitary place of counsel far distant from any dwelling, and there advised unknown to any man but to the Counsellors themselves; and if any great alteration or need of counsel were, that did pertain to all the land, then the King assited unto him all his Counsellors to some convenient place for to take their advice; and that happen'd but very seldom.





CATALOGUS *vocum quarundam*
 ARMORICARUM quas HIBERNICAS esse de-
 prehendi, quasque ex libello quem mihi mu-
 tuo dedit Cl. et Rev. Dominus, Dominus
 JO. MILLIUS S. S. T. in Academia Oxoni-
 ensi P. ibidemque Aulae Sanct. Edmundanae
 Principalis, collegi et desumpsi.



RITTANNI Armorici Angliam
Bro-saos vocant, hoc est, Saxonum
 patriam; quo nomine paululum va-
 riato, Hiberni idem regnum indigi-
 tare solent: et ipsos incolas *Clan na Sassa-*
nach, id est, Saxones; ad verbum verò *Saxo-*
num filios, appellant.

Hibernis gentilis sermo *Gaolac* dicitur, quod
 idem sonat significatque, ac Armoricorum
Gallec, qua voce Gallorum linguam in hodi-
 ernum usque diem intelligunt, ut in amba-
 rum gentium scriptis videre est.

Etiam si in sequenti Parallelo aliquando lit-
 teræ et syllabæ quædam non levem discre-
 pantiam præ se ferre videantur; eadem tamen
 illis est potestas, et sonus idem. Sic *at*, *aff*,
 et *es* finales Armoricæ, respondent *ach*, *agh*,
 et

et *as* Hibernicis. *Guy* initialis cum *fi*, *b* cum *p*, *d* cum *t*, *f* cum *v* sæpissimè commutantur.

Sed de hisce fusiùs, et similis argumenti omnibus, in Dissertatione, quam de veterum Lingua Gallorum, cùm primùm Romanorum arma experti sunt, annuente summo numine, scripturi sumus.

Oxonia, 19 Decembris, Anno
à Christo nato,
1693.

ARMORICE.	HIBERNICE.	LATINE.
Isel.	<i>Iseal.</i>	Humilis.
Iselhat.	<i>Isealacht.</i>	Humiliatio.
Oan.	<i>Uan.</i>	Agnus.
Oanic.	<i>Uanin.</i>	Agnellus.
Flem.	<i>Flemb*.</i>	Aculeus.
Den.	<i>Duine.</i>	Homo.
Denbihan.	<i>Duinebuineach.</i>	Homuncio.
Caret.	<i>Caraid†.</i>	Amicus.
Carantes.	<i>Carrantas .</i>	Amicitia.
Guyr.	<i>Coir.</i>	Jus.
Hirrahath.	<i>Direachagh.</i>	Elongatio.
Bloaz.	<i>Bliaghuin.</i>	Annus.

* *Gath* etiam Hibernicè.

† *Cara* Hibernis Australibus.

|| *Cardis* etiam Hibernicè.

Amfer.	<i>Amseir.</i>	Tempus.
Gronan.	<i>Gruan</i> *.	Arena.
Asen.	<i>Affil.</i>	Afinus.
Dall.	<i>Dall.</i>	Cæcus.
Dallaf.	<i>Dallagh.</i>	Cæcitas.
Gonalen.	<i>Gualun.</i>	Humerus.
Querch.	<i>Coire.</i>	Avena.
Ives.	<i>Ives.</i>	Etiam.
Guilé.	<i>Oilé.</i>	Alius.
Pocq.	<i>Póg.</i>	Osculum.
Scubellen.	<i>Scuab.</i>	Stopa.
Scubaf.	<i>Scuabagh.</i>	Verrère, Scopa.
Lezron.	<i>Leafrach.</i>	Femora.
Mat.	<i>Maith.</i>	Bonus.
Matgræt.	<i>Maithghnioth.</i>	Beneficium.
Madelez.	<i>Maith eas.</i>	Bonitas.
Cam.	<i>Cam.</i>	Curvus.
Ber.	<i>Bear.</i>	Veru.
Losq.	<i>Loscath.</i>	Ustio.
Quarrec.	<i>Carric.</i>	Rupes.
Gouris.	<i>Cris.</i>	Cingulum.
Ludu.	<i>Luoth.</i>	Cinis.
Codoer.	<i>Caithir.</i>	Cathedra.
Caboun.	<i>Cabun.</i>	Capo.
Glaouen.	<i>Gualan.</i>	Carbo.
Moall.	<i>Maoil.</i>	Calvus.
Derven.	<i>Dair</i> †.	Quercus.
Gaor.	<i>Gaur.</i>	Caper.
Em ty me.	<i>An ma thi.</i>	In Domo mea.
Quy.	<i>Cu.</i>	Canis venaticus.
Caöll.	<i>Cál.</i>	Brassica.

* *Ganibb* etiam Hibernicè.† Unde forte *droi* Druides, *doire* nemus.

Ancuff.	<i>Nemh.</i>	Coelum.
Coar.	<i>Ceir.</i>	Cera.
Garan.	<i>Garagh.</i>	
Taig.	<i>Tairné.</i>	Clavus.
Coulm.	<i>Coluim.</i>	Columba.
Evel, eguis	<i>Evail, eguis</i>	Ut.
Quillocq.	<i>Cuilloch.</i>	Gallus Gallinaceus.
Ilin.	<i>Illin.</i>	
Aer.	<i>Athir.</i>	Coluber.
Læs.	<i>Lis.</i>	Domus regia.
Guiriff.	<i>Gurigh.</i>	Ova ponere.
Goloff.	<i>Foluigh.</i>	Tegere.
Croüezr.	<i>Criathar.</i>	Cribra.
Cridiff.	<i>Credimb.</i>	Credere.
Creven.	<i>Screavog.</i>	Cruſta.
Creiz.	<i>Cré.</i>	Lutum.
Lezr.	<i>Leathir.</i>	Corium.
Dlé.	<i>Dliagh.</i>	Debitum.
Dref.	<i>Deregh.</i>	Ponè.
Diaouill.	<i>Diabhil.</i>	Diabolus.
Lavaret.	<i>Lauairt.</i>	Loqui.
A creis.	<i>Achreis.</i>	E medio.
Droue.	<i>Droch.</i>	Malus.
Mezuiff.	<i>Misce.</i>	Ebrius.
Choar.	<i>Seuar.</i>	Soror.
Tremengua.	<i>Dremire.</i>	Scala.
Clezeu.	<i>Claiau.</i>	Gladius.
Teohat.	<i>Tiuhact.</i>	Spiffitas.
Ober.	<i>Obuir.</i>	Opus.
Tan.	<i>Tinne.</i>	Ignis.
Map.	<i>Mac.</i>	Filius.
Moch.	<i>Muc.</i>	Porcus.

Sæz.	<i>Súste.</i>	Imbecillis.
Dinerz.	<i>Dineart.</i>	Vis.
Nerz.	<i>Neart.</i>	Fossa, puteus.
Poull.	<i>Poll.</i>	Folium.
Delyou.	<i>Duillog.</i>	Fugere.
Techet.	<i>Tethagh.</i>	Genu.
Glin.	<i>Gluu.</i>	Patibulum.
Croucq.	<i>Croith.</i>	{ Navisguber-
Stut.	<i>Sdiuir.</i>	{ naculum.
Greunen.	<i>Granin.</i>	Granum.
Bloanec.	<i>Blunic.</i>	Pinguedo.
Eurmat.	<i>Uairmhaith.</i>	Auspicium.
Hoary.	<i>Uavar.</i>	Ludus.
Enesen.	<i>Inis.</i>	Insula.
Teant.	<i>Teangha.</i>	Lingua.
Ledan.	<i>Lethan.</i>	Largus.
Lenfr.	<i>Leabbár.</i>	Liber.
Dorn.	<i>Dorn.</i>	Pugnus.
Ty.	<i>Ti*.</i>	Domus.
Claf.	<i>Clabb.</i>	Æger.
Drouchoberer.	<i>Drochobri.</i>	Maleficus.
Læsmam.	<i>Leasmhathir.</i>	Noverca.
Mintin.	<i>Madin.</i>	Mane.
Mor.	<i>Muir†.</i>	Mare.
Trugarez.	<i>Trocare.</i>	Misericordia.
Coch.	<i>Cac.</i>	Merda.
Quemesq.	<i>Meascagh.</i>	Miscere.
Offeren.	<i>Aiffrin .</i>	Missa.
Manach.	<i>Manach.</i>	Monachus.

* *Deac* etiam Hibernicè.

† *Morb* et *Moir* etiam.

|| Haud dubium quin a Latino *offero* deducendum sit.

Mis.	<i>Mi.</i>	Mensis.
Boucq.	<i>Bog.</i>	Mollis.
Maru.	<i>Marv.</i>	Mortuus.
Bugale.	<i>Buachvill.</i>	Puerulus.
Quelgeuen.	<i>Cuileog.</i>	Musca.
Guenell.	<i>Gineal.</i>	Nasci.
Nedelec.	<i>Nolluic.</i>	{ Nativitatis
		{ Christi festum.
Du.	<i>Du.</i>	Niger.
Duat.	<i>Duach.</i>	Nigredo.
Craouen.	<i>Croa.</i>	Nuces.
Beuzet.	<i>Baite.</i>	Merfus.
Ui.	<i>Ui vel Oi.</i>	Ovum.
Plusquen.	<i>Blusc.</i>	
Plusquen un ui	<i>Blusc na bui.</i>	
Ezn.	<i>Ean.</i>	Avis.
Eznic.	<i>Eanin.</i>	Avicula.
Eznetaër.	<i>Eanadair.</i>	Auceps.
Diegus.	<i>Diabhuin.</i>	Otiosus.
Læshann.	<i>Leasainm.</i>	Cognomen.
Ivin.	<i>Ighuin.</i>	Unguis.
Colo.	<i>Calog.</i>	Palea.
Bara.	<i>Aran.</i>	Panis.
Rannaff.	<i>Rannagh.</i>	Dividere.
Quetren.	<i>Keavrin.</i>	Particula.
Golven.	<i>Galvun.</i>	Passer.
Crochen.	<i>Crocean.</i>	Pellis.
Crib.	<i>Cir*.</i>	Pecten.
Collet.	<i>Cailte.</i>	Perditus.
Tat.	<i>Athair.</i>	Pater.
Bram.	<i>Brim.</i>	Ventris crepitus.

* Hiberni etiam dicunt *Criban.*

Troat.	<i>Troith.</i>	Pes.
Truez.	<i>Truaighe.</i>	Compaffio.
Leun.	<i>Lán.</i>	Plenus.
Gouclaff.	<i>Gulagh.</i>	Flere.
Goucluan.	<i>Gulan.</i>	Fletus.
Aval.	<i>Avull.</i>	Malus, arbor.
Squevent.	<i>Scavan.</i>	Pulmo.
Breinaff.	<i>Breanagh.</i>	Putrefcere, foetere.
Brein.	<i>Brein.</i>	Putidus.
Doün.	<i>Dovuin.</i>	Profundus.
Queiguel.	<i>Cuigeal.</i>	Colus.
Scuillaf.	<i>Scuileagh.</i>	Solvere.
Segal.	<i>Segul.</i>	Secale.
Bouzar.	<i>Bovar.</i>	Surdus.
Logoden.	<i>Luchog.</i>	Mus.
Tarus.	<i>Tarv.</i>	Taurus.
Guyader.	<i>Fiadoir.</i>	Textor.
Lien.	<i>Lian.</i>	Lintum.
Bieuch.	<i>Beach.</i>	Bestia *.
Levé.	<i>Laoi.</i>	Vitulus.
Glas.	<i>Glas.</i>	Viridis.
Guyrioncz.	<i>Fioriontas.</i>	Veritas.
Bouët.	<i>Biath.</i>	Cibus.
Beu.	<i>Beo.</i>	Vivus.
Seuzl.	<i>Sál.</i>	Calx pedis.
Amman,	<i>Eim.</i>	Butyrus.
Olen.	<i>Solun.</i>	Sal.
Loufaouen.	<i>Lus, Luffan.</i>	Herba.
Mismeurz.	<i>Mimairt.</i>	Mensis Martius.
Miseprell.	<i>Miobreál.</i>	Aprilis †.
Mismesuen.	<i>Mimheafvach.</i>	Junius ‡.

* Speciatim Vacca Armorica.

† Operarius.

‡ Formosus.

} Mensis.

Misgouaré.	<i>Miguaré.</i>	Julius *.
Misguengolò.	<i>Misnfoloi.</i>	September †.
Mistezré.	<i>Miheasri.</i>	October ‖.
Misda.	<i>Mi dhu.</i>	November ‡.
Mesquerdu.	<i>Michrumdu.</i>	December **.
Misguenuer.	<i>Micainvair.</i>	Januarius ††.
Micheuret.	<i>Michuir.</i>	Februarius *.
Sizun.	<i>Seachtuin.</i>	Septimana.
Dillun.	<i>Dealluin.</i>	Dies Lunæ.
Doué.	<i>Diá.</i>	Deus.
Ælez.	<i>Aighlé.</i>	Angeli.
Kær.	<i>Caihir.</i>	Civitas.
Menn.	<i>Meannan.</i>	Hoedus.
Crouër.	<i>Cruigheoir.</i>	Creator.
Iffern.	<i>Iffrin.</i>	Tartarus.
Choareil.	<i>Corgas.</i>	Quadragesima
Ezom.	<i>Eassomb.</i>	Indigentia.
Buanegez.	<i>Baneghas.</i>	Furor.
Marchyat.	<i>Marcuiacht.</i>	Æquitatio.
Tourch.	<i>Torc.</i>	Aper.

* Portuum. † Albitegumenti. ‖ Aratorius. } Mensu.
 ‡ Niger. ** Nigerrimus. †† Initialis.
 * Sementarius.



V O C A B U L A R I U M

Armorico-Hibernicum.

ARMORICE.	HIBERNICE.	LATINE.
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A.

A ER.
 Aur.

Ar.
 All.
 Angor.
 Argant.
 Arm.
 Alt.
 Ane, Ene.
 Aval.

Aighir.
Or.
Ar, Aras.
Oile.
Ancoire.
Argiod.
Arm.
Alt.
Anam.
Aval.

Aer.
Aurum.
Terra.
Alius.
Anchora.
Argentum.
Arma.
Saltus.
Anima.
Pomum.

B.

Bara.
 Brun.
 Brech.
 Bu.
 Broch.
 Berr.
 Bresfych.

Barin.
Brunn.
Braigh.
Bo.
Broc.
Bearr.
Prayssfeach.

Panis.
{ Venter, ma-
{ milla.
Brachium.
Bos.
{ Vas fictile
{ velligneum.
Brevis.
Brassica.

Bach,

Bach, Bagl,	<i>Batta, Bachull.</i>	Baculus.
Brenn, Brennyn.	{ <i>Brennin,</i> <i>Breatheamb.</i> }	Rex, Judex.
Bardd.	<i>Bard.</i>	Poeta.
Baar.	<i>Barra.</i>	Vectis.
Breur.	<i>Brathair.</i>	Frater.
Bren.	<i>Bréun.</i>	Foetidus,
Buch, Bouch.	<i>Buc.</i>	Caper mas.

	C.	
Ki, Kun.	<i>Cu, Cun,</i>	Canis, canes.
Cren.	<i>Cruinn.</i>	Rotundus.
Crou.	<i>Cruaigh.</i>	Durus.
Carr.	<i>Carr.</i>	{ Carrus aut Currus,
Cat, Caz.	<i>Cat.</i>	Felis.
Canab.	<i>Canaib.</i>	Canabis,
Cantol.	<i>Coinneol.</i>	Candela,
Craou, Craouen.	<i>Cru, Cnu.</i>	Nux.
Coir.	<i>Ceir.</i>	Cera.
Caul,	<i>Cál.</i>	{ Caulis vel Brassica,
Cist.	<i>Ciste.</i>	Cista.
Cán.	<i>Cann, Caintic.</i>	Canticum,
Cana.	<i>Canagh.</i>	Canere.
Cambr.	<i>Seomra.</i>	Camera,
Cam.	<i>Cam.</i>	Curvus.
Cant,	<i>Cant, Ceud.</i>	Centum,
Canol.	<i>Canal.</i>	Canalis,
Caru, Caro.	<i>Carr-fbiggh.</i>	Cervus.
Chaden.	<i>Caddan.</i>	Catena.
Council.	<i>Cunin.</i>	Cuniculus,
Çale.	<i>Coill.</i>	Sylva.

Cár.	<i>Cara.</i>	Charus.
Croug.	<i>Cros.</i>	Crux.
Curun, coron.	<i>Coroin.</i>	Corona.
Corf.	<i>Corp.</i>	Corpus.
Coch.	<i>Coch, Corkire.</i>	{ Coccus, Purpureus,
Crin.	<i>Crian.</i>	Aridus.
Cóq.	<i>Cocuire.</i>	Coquus.
Carchar.	<i>Carcan.</i>	Carcer.
Caban.	<i>Caban.</i>	Casula.
Calch.	<i>Cailce.</i>	Creta.
Caus.	<i>Caise.</i>	Cafeus.

D.

Deru.	<i>Dair.</i>	Quercus.
Dun.	<i>Dún.</i>	Collis.
Daigr.	<i>Deor.</i>	Gutta, lachryma,
Deilen.	{ <i>Duille,</i> <i>Duilleog.</i>	Folium.
Dour.	<i>Dorn.</i>	Pugnus.
Dour.	<i>Dúr.</i>	Aqua.
Doun.	<i>Domhain.</i>	Profundus.
Di, Deiz.	<i>De.</i>	Dies.
Dec.	<i>Deag, Deich.</i>	Decem.
Dolur.	<i>Dolas.</i>	Dolor.
Dug.	<i>Duibhee.</i>	Dux.
Dor.	<i>Dorus.</i>	Ostium.
Dag.	<i>Daggear.</i>	Pugio.
Dreuc.	<i>Droch.</i>	Malus.
Dol.	<i>Dál.</i>	Vallis.
Den.	<i>Duine.</i>	Homo.

E.

Eduyn.
Erigea.

Eadhan.
Eirigh.

Videlicet.
Surgere.

F.

Forn.
Fin.
Fin.
Feur.
Foen.
Ffruyn.
Fron.
Fals.
Fallat.
Forch.
Furm.
Fest.

Fuirn.
Fin.
Finn.
Féar.
Féur.
Sréun.
Srón, Sronin.
Falsa.
Fallagh.
Forc.
Foirm.
Feasta.

Furnus.
Subtilis.
Candidus.
Nundinae.
Foenum.
Froenum.
Nasus, Nares.
Falsus.
Fallere.
Furca.
Forma.
Festus.

G.

Gouin.
Greun.
Gaour.
Glu, Glut.
Groin.
Glas.
Glin.
Gloar.
Glaif.
Goaz.
Gard.
Garm.

Fion.
Grain.
Gabhar.
Gleu.
Groinn.
Glas.
Glin.
Gloir.
Claidheamb.
Giagh.
Gardin.
Gairm.

Vinum.
Granum.
Caper.
Gluten.
{ Porcorum
 { proboscis.
Viridis.
Genu.
Gloria.
Gladius.
Anser.
Hortus.
Beatus.

	H.	
Hun.	<i>Sún.</i>	Somnus.
Henn.	<i>Sean.</i>	Vetus.
	I.	
Imaich.	<i>Imbaigh.</i>	Imago.
Ifge.	<i>Uifge.</i>	Aqua.
	L.	
Lin.	<i>Linn.</i>	Stagnum, lacus.
La.	<i>Lamb.</i>	Manus.
Lin.	<i>Líon.</i>	Linum.
Lili.	<i>Lili.</i>	Lilium.
Lug.	<i>Lúg.</i>	Corvus.
Laguen.	<i>Lag.</i>	Lacuna, stagnum.
Lech.	<i>Leac.</i>	Rupes.
Lin.	<i>Línin.</i>	Linea.
Liffr.	<i>Leabhar.</i>	Liber.
Lancç.	<i>Langa.</i>	Lancea.
Lacç.	<i>Nask.</i>	Laqueus.
Lys, Les.	<i>Lis.</i>	Aula, Curia.
Leu.	<i>Leomhan.</i>	Leo.
Ledr, Lezu.	<i>Leathar.</i>	Corium.
Logis.	<i>Lóstin.</i>	Hospitium.
	M.	
Mis.	<i>Mi.</i>	Menfis.
Milín.	<i>Mulinn.</i>	Molendinum.
Mantel.	<i>Mantal.</i>	Muliebre
Mal.	<i>Mala.</i>	pallium.
Moch.	<i>Muc.</i>	Sacci genus.
		Porcus.
		Mama.

Mam.	<i>Mathair.</i>	Mater.
Misgu.	<i>Measgah.</i>	Miscere.
Mor, Mar.	<i>Muir, Mara.</i>	Marc.
Mél.	<i>Mil.</i>	Mel.
Mill.	<i>Mile.</i>	Mille.
Mall.	<i>Mallachtá.</i>	{ Malus, fce-
Maestr.	<i>Maghisdir.</i>	{ leratus.
March.	<i>Marc.</i>	Magister.
Marg.	<i>Meirg.</i>	Equus.
		Ferrugo.

N.

Nos.	<i>Noiche.</i>	Nox.
Neu, neucs.	<i>Nua, Nuath.</i>	Novus.
Nef.	<i>Neamh.</i>	Nubes.
Nith, Neis.	<i>Nead.</i>	Nidus.
Neuth.	<i>Snaithe.</i>	Filum.
Neza, Niddu.	<i>Snaightbhagh.</i>	Nere.
Niul, Niful.	<i>Néull.</i>	Nebula.
Naou.	<i>Naoi.</i>	Novem.
Nith.	<i>Nigheann.</i>	Neptis.
Natur.	<i>Naduir.</i>	Natura.

O.

Oll.	<i>Oll, uile.</i>	Omnis.
Orgouil.	<i>Orgoill.</i>	Superbus.
Ober.	<i>Obuir.</i>	Opera.
Oleu, Eol.	<i>Ola.</i>	Olcum.
Office.	<i>Offig.</i>	Officium.
Oncç.	<i>Unsa.</i>	Uncia.
Or.	<i>Ore.</i>	Terminus.

P.

Pemp.	{ <i>Pemp</i> , vox <i>antiqua</i> .	Quinque.
Pis.	<i>Pis</i> .	Pisum.
Pcz.	<i>Pisa</i> .	Frustrum.
Pris.	<i>Pris</i> .	Pretium.
Porth.	<i>Purt</i> .	Portus.
Porfor.	<i>Purfur</i> .	Purpura.
Post.	<i>Posta</i> .	Postis.
Punt.	<i>Punta</i> .	Pondo.
Pobl.	<i>Pobul</i> .	Populus.
Perill.	<i>Pericl</i> .	Periculum.
Plant.	<i>Planta</i> .	Planta.
Parc.	<i>Pairc</i> .	Viridarium.
Pul, Pouf.	<i>Poll</i> .	{ Stagnum, La- cuna, Sinus.

R.

Rhodl.	<i>Ramha</i> .	Remus.
Raden, radin.	<i>Rathin</i> .	Filix.
Rhy.	<i>Riogh</i> .	Dominus, Rex.
Rac.	<i>Rach</i> .	Enim, nam.
Ræson.	<i>Refün</i> .	Ratio.
Rot, Rhod.	<i>Rhotha, rit</i> .	Rota.
Roufin.	<i>Rosin</i> .	Refina.
Ros, Rosen.	<i>Rosa</i> .	Rosa.

S.

Sebon.	<i>Sopa</i> .	Sapo.
Segal.	<i>Seagul</i> .	Secale.
Saeth.	<i>Saghid</i> .	Sagitta.
Süg.	<i>Su</i> .	Succus.

Sgub,

Sgub, ysgub.	<i>Scuab.</i>	Scopa.
Sul.	<i>Solus.</i>	Sol, Lux.
Siell, Sél.	<i>Seala.</i>	Sigillum.

T.

Tarq, Tarp.	<i>Tarbh.</i>	Taurus.
Tur.	<i>For.</i>	Turris.
Tumbe.	<i>Tumba.</i>	{Tumulus, Sc-
Tir.	<i>Tir.</i>	{pulchrum.
Tec.	<i>Deach.</i>	Terra.
Termen.	<i>Tearmann.</i>	Domus.
Ti.	<i>Ti, Tigh.</i>	Terminus.
Taran.	{ <i>Torman,</i>	Domus.
Torch.	{ <i>Tarneach.</i>	Tonitru.
Titl.	<i>Torch.</i>	Torques.
Teyrn.	<i>Tiodal.</i>	Titulus.
Teyrnas.	<i>Tighearna.</i>	Dominus, Rex.
Tasg.	<i>Tighearnas.</i>	Dominatio.
Tonn.	<i>Taisce.</i>	Vestigal.
Teuth.	<i>Fum.</i>	Cadus.
	<i>Tuath.</i>	Gens.

V.

Uy.	<i>Oibh.</i>	Ovum.
Ur, Gur.	<i>Fear.</i>	Vir.

A

A

S P E C I M E N

O F T H E

ARMORICAN LANGUAGE.

THE BEATITUDES *Mat. viii. 1, &c.*

Eürus bras e'on
 peuryen vès à
 speret rac rouantelez
 an euffaon à appar-
 chant onté.

*Eürus bras eo an re
 debonner, rac an douar
 a possedint.*

*Eürus bras eo an re
 à gouel, rac consolet
 vezint.*

*Eürus bras eo an
 re ho devez naoun ha
 rechet, rac rassassiet
 vezint.*

Blessed are the
 poor in Spirit,
 for the kingdom of
 Heaven is theirs, &c.

PRONUNCIATION.

Cha as *sha*, &c. *ç*
 as *f*. A final *f* is mute.
 Double *ff* as *v* Con-
 sonant. *Ga*, *go*, *gu*,
 hard; *Ge*, *gi* soft. *Gn*
 as *ni* in *Opinion*. *H*
 is always pronounc'd.
J Consonant as in
 Dutch.

*Eürus bras eo an
re trugareaus ò de-
vezò.*

*Eürus bras eo an re
ò deves ho caloun næt,
rac guelet à raint
Doué.*

*Eürus bras eo an
re pacificq, rac gual-
vet vezint bugalé
Doué.*

*Eürus bras eo an
re pere à andur perse-
tion à palamour da
justice rac rouantelez
an euffaon so dezè.*

The Sum of the Law and Gospel.

*Te à caro an An-
traou da Doué à creis
da calon, a creis da
enef, hac a creis da
entendamant.*

*Te à caro da nessaff
eueldot da human.*

The ten Command-
ments in verse.

I. *En un Doué parfæt
ez credy,
Ha parfætamant à
quiry.*

Dutch. A final *x* as
s. Z has a particular
pronunciation. *Je, an,*
Diminutive termina-
tions; as *Map, Ma-
pic; Merch, Merchic;*
Gruech, Gruechic, or
Gruech bihan, &c.

Thou shalt love the
Lord thy God with
all thy heart, with all
thy soul, and with all
thy understanding.

Thou shalt love thy
neighbour as thy own
self.

In English prose.

I. One onely God shalt
thou believe,
And perfectly love.

II.

- II. *Doué è van ne
tuy quet,
Na dememes nettra
erbet.* II. By God in vain thou
shalt not swear,
Nor likewise by any
other thing.
- III. *An Sulyon hac an
Genelyon Din
A observy gant pe-
dennou.* III. Sundays and Holy-
days shalt thou
keep
In serving God de-
voutly.
- IV. *Da tat da mam
hep bout fell,
A enory hac ez be-
vy pell.* IV. Thy father and
mother shalt thou
honour,
That thou mayst
lead a long life.
- V. *Muntrer yvez ne
vizy quet,
A volonteز nac a
effet.* V. Thou shalt likewise
do no murder
By Will nor Deed.
- VI. *Luxurius mir ma
vizy;
Na dre effect na
dre desir.* VI. Nor shalt thou be
luxurious
In Deed or Desire.
- VII. *Laezereز na mi-
ret ma daou den
En ep guys ne ry bi-
zuicquen.* VII. Thou shalt not
keep the goods of
another
Privately or by
force.
- VIII. *Nac a euep den
fals testeny
Gaon è lech guir
ne liviry.* VIII. Thou shalt not
bear false wit-
ness
Nor ly in any wise.

IX.

IX. *Na desir euffr au
quicq bizuicquen.*

*Nemet gaut priet
ep muy quen.*

X. *Madaon da hentez
ne hoantaï quet,*

*Euit ep răsoun ho
miret.*

IX. Thou shalt not do
the works of the
flesh,

But in marriage on-
ly.

X. Thou shalt not co-
vet thy neigh-
bours goods

To keep them with-
out reason.

The Lord's Prayer.

In English.

*Hon Tat pehiny so
en euffou.*

*Hoz hano bezet
sanctifiet.*

*Ho rouantelez de-
vet demp.*

*Ho volontez bezet
grat en douar euel en
euff.*

*Rait demp hizyau
hon bara pemdizyec.*

*Ha pardonet dem
hon offançon, euel ma
pardonomp dan reen
deves ny offançet.*

*Ha na permettet
quet ez coveze m'en
tentation.*

*Hoguen hon deli-
vret a droue.*

Our Father which
art in Heaven.

Hallowed be thy
name.

Thy kingdom come.

Thy will be done
on Earth, as it is in
Heaven.

Give us this day our
daily bread.

And forgive us our
offences, as we for-
give those that offend
us.

Suffer us not to fall
into temptation.

But deliver us from
evil.

*Ma Doué ho pet
truez onziffervez ho
trugarez bras.*

Lord have pity up-
on me according to
thy great mercy.

The Creed.

*Me à cret en Doué
è Tat ollgalloudec,
croüer dan Euff ha
dan donar. Hac en
Jesús Christ e map
unic hon Antrabou.
Pehiny so bet conce-
vet ves au Speret san-
tel, guanet vès an
guerches Mary. En
deves gouzavet didan
Ponçe Pilat, so bet
crucifiet, maru, ha se-
beliet. So bet disquen-
net en iffernaou, ha
dan trede dez ressu-
scitet à maru da ben.
(from Death to Life)
So pingnet en Euffaon,
bac asezet an tu de-
hou da Doué, è Tat
ollgalloudec. Ahanè
èz duy da barn an re
beu, hac an re maru.
Me cret en Speret san-
tel, hac an Ilis Ca-
tholic. Ha commu-*

I believe in God
the Father, &c.

Antraou Doué dif-
cuezit diff hos enthou,
ha quelennet diff ho
garantehou. En hanu
an Tat, an Map, an
Speret santel.

That is,

Lord God shew me
thy ways and teach me
thy paths, in the name
of the Father, Son,
and holy Spirit.

*Jesús map Doué ho
pet truez ouziff.*

Jesus Son of God
have pity upon me.

*Hannu Doué bezet
benniguet.*

The name of the
God be blessed.

*Antraou hoz bet
truygarez onzemp.*

Lord have mercy
upon us.

nion

nion an sênt. Remission an pechedon. Resurrection an Quic. An buhez eternal. En al-se bezet grat.

A bremman, bepret da bizuicquen.
From this time to Eternity.
So be it.

Numbers:

Unan, daou, try, penar, pemp, huech, seiz, eiz, nao, dec, unnec, daouzec, tryzec, penarzec, pempzec, chuezec, seittec, eittec, nadntec, ugent.

One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty.

Unan voar n'uguent, &c.

One and twenty, &c.

Tregont, daougent, hanter cant, try ugent, dec a try ugent, penar ugent, dec a penar ugent, Cant, Mil, Million.

Thirty, forty, half a hundred, *i. e.* fifty, threescore, threescore and ten, fourscore, fourscore and ten, a Hundred, Thousand, Million.

Days of the Week.

Dyssull, Dyllun, Demeurz, Demercher, Diziou, Derguener, Dessadorn, un Sizun, un Dez.

Sunday, Munday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, a Week, a Day.

*Doné da roiff dez
mat dech.*

Ha dechhu Ivez.

*Penaus a hanoch-
hu?*

*Tach ouf à truga-
rez Doué.*

Peà lech ez it-hu?

*Me govezo an gui-
ryonez.*

God give you a
good day.

And to you like-
wife.

How do you do?

I am well by God's
mercy.

Whither go you?

I shall know the
truth.

DII GALLORUM.

TAramis.
Hesus.

Teutates.

Belenus, *vel*

Abellio.

Onvana. *Anara*, Hib.

Hogmius.

Adraste: Andate.

SUMMUS MAGI- STRATUS.

Vergobretus. { *Fergo-*
brethr,
Hib.

OFFICIORUM MAXI- mè *sacrorum no-* *mina.*

Pateræ.

Cænæ.

Bardi. *Bard, Baird*, H.

Druidæ. { *Droi, Dru-*
idhe, Hib.

Eubages: corruptè pro
Vates.

MILITARIA VOCA- BULA.

Ger.

Alauda.

Alauda.
Caterva.

Machine Bellicæ.

MILITUM SPECIES.

Mangæ.
Mangana. } Diminut.
Mangona- } *Mean-*
lia. } *ghan.*

Gælatæ. } *Gaiscio-*
 } *ghach, H.*

Vargi.

Curruum Nomina.

Crupellarii.

Bagaudæ. *Bagadai.*

Galearii.

Benna.

Petoritum.

Carrus.

Covinum.

ARMORUM NOMINA.

Effedum.

Rheda.

Spatha.

Gessum.

Lancea.

Vestium Nomina.

Cateia.

Matara.

Rheno.

Thyreus. *Faret, Hib.*

Sagus.

Cetra.

Linna †.

Carnon. } *Carnan, vi-*

Gaunacum.

} *deas, quæras.*

Bardiacus, pro Bardis.

† *Linna*, saga quadra et mollia sunt, de quibus *Plaut.* *Linna* cooperta est textrino Gallia. *Isidor.*

Linna *Diodoro* est σάγρις φίλος, et *Varroni* mollis sagus; *Hibernis* hodiernis indusium est non una mutata littera.

Bardocucullus, etiam pro Bardis.

Braccæ, pro omnibus. *Breaccan.*

Maniaci.

Animalium Nomina.

Marc, Equus.

Rhaphius, Lupus Cervinus.

Abrana, Simia.

Barracacæ, Pellium, &c.

Lug. Cornix. Mus.

Clupea. Piscis species.



C I C E R O
I L L U S T R A T U S,
D I S S E R T A T I O
P H I L O L O G I C O - C R I T I C A :
S I V E

Consilium de toto edendo CICERONE, alia
planè methodo quàm hactenus unquam
factum.

*Vivit, vivetque per omnem seculorum memoriam : dum-
que hoc vel forte, vel providentiâ, vel utcunque con-
stitutum, rerum Naturae corpus (quod ille paenè so-
lus Romanorum animo vidit, ingenio complexus est,
eloquentiâ illuminavit) manebit incolume, comitem
aevi sui laudem Ciceronis trahet.*

Vel. Paterc. lib. 2. cap. 66.



CICERO ILLUSTRATUS.

CAPUT I.

Viro
Natalibus, ingenio, literis, armis
Insigni,
D. D. GEORGIO GULIELMO
Baroni de Hohendorf,
In copiis sac. Caes. Majest. equitum Tribuno,
Serenissimi Principis
Summique Imperatoris
EUGENII SABAUDI
Adjutori generali & Optioni,
S. P. D.
JOANNES TOLANDUS.



IR quidam, ad miraculum usque
eruditus, saepe me dicentem au-
divit, CICERONEM MIHI SEMPER
TALEM FORE, QUALIS CICERONI
EXTITERAT PLATO: cūque idem
istud in scriptis meis (omni tamen compara-
tione procul remotâ) non semel legisset, enixè

assiduèque hortatus est, ut novam hujus incomparabilis Oratoris, optimi Civis, sapientissimi Magistratus, summi Philosophi, editionem adornare vellem. Nemo enim amico nostro acutiùs ea animadvertere solet, quae in quibusvis editionibus aut exuberent quoquo modo aut deficiant; sive quòd editores aliqui oscitantes nimis & imprudentes fuerint, sive quòd aliqui subsidiis minùs & otio gavisi sint: sive hoc denique (quod frequentius certè) ex plerorumque Grammatistarum ac Commentatorum ridicula affectatione, ex fastidiosa doctrinae ostentatione, ex declamatoria rerum pusillarum amplificatione, aut ex arrogantia minimè ferendâ evenerit. Impulsu ergo hujus amoeniorum studiorum arbitri, ac vehementi meâ erga Ciceronem propensione commotus, non exemplar modò, sed consilium etiam perfectioris omni ratione, quàm unquam hactenus, editionis faciundae, tacitus mecum primò efformavi. Haud parùm deinceps in proposito me confirmarunt viri, non magis iudicii laude, quàm scientiae amplitudinè conspicui: nam paucissimis, fateor, quorum apud me auctoritas plus quàm multitudinis approbatio valet, quali in hoc negotio animo essem, aperui. Et pergere demum prae omnibus unus accendebat, qui utilissimum hujusmodi coeptum pro merito quidem aestimare imò & liberaliter insuper promoverè potis est.

II. SED O Dii boni! quàm altos sustuli animos, quantumque incitatus his studiis & in-

inflammatus eo die Generosissime BARO) quo deductus sum a te primâ vice ad serenissimum EUGENIUM SABAUDUM, nomen toto orbe celeberrimum, & literarum cultoribus imprimis venerandum, cum sit ipse omnium bonarum artium decus & lumen! Quando intromissus (inquam) Hagae-Comitis ad celsissimum Principem, ac praesentem intueri fas erat, immo quando mentem ejus sensusque circa hanc ipsam Ciceronis editionem perspicere dabatur; non diutius licuit ambigere, non amplius hærere, quin me meaque omnia statim in fidem & potestatem victoris permetterem. Antea mihi cum omnibus, quos oriens Sol aut occidens respicit, juxta notum erat, illum non modò eorum hominum qui nunc sunt gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriam bellicâ virtute superasse, omnesque omnium gentium Imperatorum res gestas longè post se reliquisse: nullae siquidem *nec contentionum magnitudine, nec numero praeliorum, nec varietate regionum, nec celeritate conficiendi*, cum ipsis praeclaris facinoribus conferri possunt. Quod enim belli genus in quo cum non exercuerit fortuna, virtus non reddiderit victorem? An Turcicum memorem vel Hungaricum, Germanicum, Italicum, Allobrogicum, Belgicum, Gallicum, aliaque bella? in quibus manum ipsius & animum indomitum obscuratura nulla unquam sit oblivio. Ut Tullii verbis illum fideliter exprimere pergam, *saepius cum hoste conflixit, quàm quisquam cum inimico concertavit: plura bella gessit, quàm ceteri*

ceteri legerunt: plures provincias confecit, quàm alii concupiverunt: & ejus adolescentia ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis praeceptis, sed suis imperiis; non offensionibus belli, sed victoriis; non stipendiis, sed triumphis est erudita. Hacc, aio, omnia non poterant non mihi esse notissima. Sed in eum usque diem me fateor latuisse (quod exinde luculenter cognovi) non minùs scilicet EUGENIUM literis esse potentem quàm armis? nec literis tantum humanioribus, quae ipsi in deliciis sunt, sed arte etiam historicâ graphicè pollere: non in Romanis duntaxat & Graecis antiquitatibus esse versatum, sed praestantissimam ejus esse peritiam in universo jure belli & pacis, quod non soli illum libri, sed res ipsae docuerunt; cùm usû & ingenio tantùm valeat, quantum fide & auctoritate. Philosophiam, seu naturae contemplationem & morum doctrinam, quâ nullum majus aut melius à Diis datum munus homini, ille omnium mortalium oculatissimus simul ac moratissimus non invitâ attigit Minerva. Nae incredibile dictu est, quantos in omnibus ejus partibus progressus fecerit. Inde venit, ut tam facilis sit ad eum privatorum aditus, ut tantus sit in eo lepos, venustas, & elegantia sermonis; ut nemo denique illum prudentiâ, consilio, constantiâ, fortitudine, magnitudine animi, innocentia, probitate, aut ullo genere laudis excellat: & talis hercle est, ut quicquid de eo dicitur, idem de nullo alio eodem modo intelligi possit; unus nempe, qui omnia tan-

tanquam singula absolvat. Tam largus est & munificus in artium liberalium, immo & ingeniosarum, excultores (quos benigno semper excipit vultu) ut beneficentia ipsius & liberalitas in proverbium jam abierint. Picturae, Poëseos, & Musices non studiosior, quàm doctus & intelligens aestimator. Sed librorum amor, quos undiquaque miranda cum diligentia & delectu conquirat, alia ferè omnia studia superavit. Ardorem hunc Bibliothecae locupletissimae instruendae nostrates omni praedicatione decorandum censuerunt praeteritâ hieme, quando, Danubio, Pado, Rheno, Mosae jampridem mirabilis, Oceano tandem & Thamesi nostro majorem se adhuc & clariorem spectandum obtulit. Praesentiam ejus diu est, quòd Batavis inviderunt Britanni. Utinam & hic consistat illa Invidia! *Hunc audiebant antea, nunc autem viderunt, tantâ temperantia, tantâ mansuetudine, tantâ humanitate; ut ii beatissimi esse videantur, apud quos ille diutissimè commoratur.* A remotissimis insulis, & ab ultima terrarum Thule, fit bonorum omnium apud hospitium ejus concursus. Aures ejus acclamationibus, oculos suos gratissimo spectaculo implent. Opplatae undique viae, angustus ipsi trames relictus. Senes, pueri, matronae, virgines, nobiles, ignobiles, certim videre & coram venerari gestiunt; paucis omnino exceptis, apud quos *non ratio, non modus, non lex, non mos, non officium valet, non judicium, non existimatio civium, non posteritatis verecundia.* Non tantùm ergo res
ejus

ejus bellicae à Britannis jam celebrabuntur, ut antea; sed rerum etiam humanarum ac divinarum scientia, in castris (quod mirandum) & tumultu comparata: nam unicus ferè post antiquos junxit EUGENIUS, res hoc tempore diversissimas, Literas & Arma. At quo progredior? Nullius est certè tanta dicendi aut scribendi copia, quae non dicam exornare, sed enarrare, ac multo minùs exaequare, tot animi dotes, tot egregia facta possit; omnium tamen populorum literis atque linguis memoranda. Sic longè denique latèque diffusae sunt ejus laudes, ut gloriae ejus domicilium ipsis universi finibus terminetur. Caetera praestabit honor aeternus Annalium. Dum anima ergo spirabo meâ, HOHENDORFI, tui in me beneficii, qui notitiam tanti herois & favorem mihi conciliaſti, nunquam ero immemor; nec ulla unquam dies gratias tanto debitas officio definiet. O me beatum! qui te habeam non solùm aequisſimum studiorum meorum aestimatozem, sed acrem subinde hortatozem & idoneum. Quum facillimè idcirco in nomine tuo acquiescam, par est ut accuratè tecum & particulatim, de meo in edendo Cicerone proposito, agam; unde meam quoque de ipso Cicerone, ut & de quibusdam maleferiatis Aristarchis, sententiam ediscas. Ceterùm, quòd diligi a te & curari me intelligam, immortaliter gaudeo.

III. QUAMVIS imprimis persuasum habeam omnium gentium atque temporum ingenia,
dum;

dummodo rerum adjuncta ritè pensitentur, esse aequalia: quave tamen ex publicae disciplinae aut privatae educationis methodis diversissimis, quave ex plerorumque hominum occupationibus necessariis aut voluntariâ exercitatione, sic fere contingit; ut quicquid in eloquentia & rerum politicarum studiis profecerimus, potiorum saltem partem, Graecis id omne & Latinis scriptoribus ex asse debeamus. Horum nempe manes in Libris suis (quasi ex sepulcris alloquentes) orbi olim tradiderunt, jamque etiam nunc tradunt, ornatioris sermonis, rei publicae prudenter administrandae, morum politiorum simul & castissimorum praeclara documenta; innumeris omnia illustrata & confirmata exemplis. Hinc accidit, ut elaboratissima linguarum hodiernarum idiomata, leges & consuetudines probatissimae, ac selectissima itidem proverbia, sint a nobismet ipsis, aut ab aliis inter legendum inde desumpta: plurimi enim, qui Graecis nunquam aut Romanis literis operam impenderunt, doctiorum tamen labores vel pertractando crebrius vel imitando, eadem illinc elegantiae, perspicuitatis, atque ordinis emolumenta lucrati sunt; ut de solidiori rerum cognitione, aut de egregiis omni eventui accommodandis exemplis, nihil dicam.

IV. HORUM verò antiquorum, non uno tantum nomine praestantissimus semper habendus est MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO; sed omnium etiam defectum quodammodo supplere posset, si, ad reliquorum instar, fuissent
ad-

adhucdum restantes deperditi. Quòd in historia Philosophorum & doctrina tradendâ, in Politicorum speculationibus & exercitiis, ac (quod primùm memorare debueram) in origine, progressu, & perfectione Eloquentiae, Romanis omnibus tam extantibus quàm extinctis immensum antecellat, est proculdubio verissimum; si fidem potissimum illis adhibemus, quorum in hac causa testimonium sine absurditate recusari nequit, utpote qui proximi ab illo sint ipsi in hisce artibus principes censendi. Graecos illos, quos primùm perquam diligenter evoluit, ac postea non minùs feliciter imitatus est, longissimè demum superavit, & totum idcirco genus humanum.

V. TUTO nihilosecius asseverare possum, eundem hunc *Ciceronem* non paucis in ipso orbe Literario penè ignotum esse; etiamsi nullius profectò nomen, idque meritissimò, in omnium ore frequentius versetur. A simulatis Grammaticis (nam genuinos plurimi facio) ab ignobilibus, inquam, verborum opificibus ita ineptè tractatus, & tam perversis etiamnum modis acceptus est, ut ex ipsis unum fuisse complures existiment; unde omnes quotquot foedissimo hoc errore post Philelphum laborant, illum aequè ac trivialem quemvis ludimagistrum aut petulantem refugiant paedagogum. Idem de Rhetoribus dico, putido illo sensu quo vulgò nunc intelliguntur umbratiles Declamatores. Causidici, pragmatici, & procuratores, vel blanditiis illum, vel metu,

tū, vel muneribus, vel fraude adurgent, ut in ipsorum Collegium se cooptatum profiteatur: nec desunt, qui allegata praestent, falsi testes; aut, qui argutiis hominem illaqueare velint, legulei. Hoc apud imperitos facit, ut verbosus, impudens, venalis, & litigiosus habeatur, eādem odiosā imputatione, qua rabulae forenses & cavillatores, dignissimis Patronorum Advocatorumque vitae conditionibus indignissimè abutuntur. Nullus est urbeculae vel tenuissimae praefectus, sive Major sit (ut barbarae loquuntur) sive Burgomagister; non syndicus, non scabinus, non scultetus, non viae publicae vel aedificiorum curator, quin se Ciceronem, aut similem omnino sibi Ciceronem credat: tam appositè rebus adaptaverunt nomina recentiores Critici! illis namque tot Consules, Praetores, Aediles, Quaestores (& quid non hujus generis?) hi omnes fiunt, evadunt, cluunt.

VI. TU autem (Vir Illustrissime) qui Reipublicae Romanae formam & administrationem, qualemque in ea locum noster obtinuerit, tam probè calles; adeo haec omnia à veritate abhorreere novisti, ut nullus jam in Europa Princeps, aut alius quicumque magistratus, se gradu & dignitate cum Cicerone exaequare, non plus quam ditiones suas & auctoritatem Romano Imperio aequiparare, possit. At, quod ejus famæ claritatem magis adauget, ex equestri ordinis novo homine, Romae, tunc orbis terrarum dominac,

minae, Quæstor, Aedilis, Praetor, Consul, Augur, Proconsul cum Imperio, perpetuâ serie electus est, Imperatorque ab exercitu in Cilicia salutat. Erat non sui modò, sed omnium equidem temporum, scientiæ civilis peritissimus; quod *Orationes & Epistolæ* luculenter ostendunt. Eloquentiæ ipsius amplitudo orbis Imperio par; & hostis quondam Julius Cæsar (nemo siquidem illi inimicus patriæ amicus esse poterat) agnovit Ciceronem (1) *omnium triumphorum lauream adeptum majorem, quanto plus est, ingenii Romani terminos in tantum promovisse, quàm Imperii*: posterius namque hoc bestiis nobiscum commune est; cùm prius istud a Ratione, qua Deum quadantenus referimus, proficiscatur. Erat Orator Ille omnibus numeris absolutus, quem antiquiores sibi nunquam cognitum, sed in animo duntaxat effectum & adumbratum, fatentur; qualisque ipse mehercule addubitat, an unquam extiterit. Coætanei verò, & alii cuncti in hodiernum usque diem, Ciceronem solum fuisse mortalium omnibus ingenii dotibus præditum, unâ voce conclamant. Proh Jupiter! quam est verborum copiâ, delectu, situ admirabilis! quanta orationis dignitas, efficacia, suavitas! quàm exuberantes inventionis fontes, & paratissimarum eligendarum amplificandarumque topica! quàm exquisitus & concinnus ordo! quàm limpida & defœcata perspicuitas! quàm

(1) Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 7. cap. 10.

stupenda elegantia, & pulcherrima lumina totum exornant ! quantus in commovendo pariter ac delectando artifex ! qualis tamen (ut verbo dicam) argumentandi non interrupta series, quantaque persuadendi vis nequaquam resistenda ! facilis tamen ubique & expeditus est, simplicissimus, jucundissimus, honestissimus. Hoc quaecunque elogium ad meritum sublimitatem nimis quantum humile ! nam Romanorum civium fuit haud dubie optimus, patriae autem prae universis amantissimus (in quibus Cato solus non sine rivali ipsum reliquit) & sui denique temporis, nec illo scientiae miraculo Varrone excepto, in omni doctrinae genere eruditissimus. Non Oratoribus enim, Politicis, & Philosophis pervestigandis totus incubuit ; sed quicquid etiam Poetae, Grammatici, Geographi, Historici scriperant, quicquid Graecae docuerunt vel Latinae literae, id omne imbiberat penitus & animo complexus est. Ne quem fallat rerum haec minuta expositio, non subvereor : namque te (HOHENDORFI) famâ mihi & auctoritate tantopere praecellentem, non minimum eorum quae vel jam dixi, vel denuo dicturus sum, ignorare ullatenus arbitror. Levissima istiusmodi stoliditatis suspicio mihi me, ac omnibus juxta, deridendum objiceret. Honestâ solummodo ambitione animatus, tibi demonstrare percupio, me de Auctore nostro adeo rectè sentire ; ut accuratum illud novae editionis consilium, quod tuo subactiori judicio submittendum proposui, confecturum me, ac

ad exitum pro rei dignitate perducturum, sic admodum verisimile.

VII. METHODUS illa verè præpòstera, qua Ciceronis opera in crudium puerulorum manus temerè ac sine delectu conjiciuntur a nullius acuminis ludimagistris, qui eos flagris quoque inclementer accipere solent, cùm minùs consequuntur, quae neque juventutis per saepe neque reipublicae rectores satis intelligunt; haec (inquam) disciplina illiberalis in causa est, cur tam perperam de viro illo divino plerique concipiant; & quòd aliquando ad nomen ipsius, propter verbera sic olim à plagosis Orbiliis importunè accepta, toti contremiscant. Ita quidem *Orationes* ejus & *Epistole* (quae gravissimas de rebus civilibus controversias, eximias politicorum artes, & recondita imperii arcana complectuntur) non alio a quibusdam habentur loco, quàm *Declamations*, quas exercitandi causâ pronuntiant quandoque scholastici; aut *Epistolas*, quas in Muscis suis, absque subjecto ullo vel consiliorum socio proposito, scriptitant homines otiosi. Haec ergo & reliqua ejusdem opera, non digniori fine ab aliis leguntur, quàm ut verborum inde copiam, tanquam ex repertorio quodam, depromant; quod plurimos induxit, ut nihil in iis praeter verba reperiri censerent. Inde (sicuti credere par est) evenit, ut in libris nonnullorum, qui Ciceronem in deliciis habere prae se ferunt, sonora tantùm verba, ac sensibus omnino destituta, reperias.

Nulla

Nulla non tempore tales extiterunt, quorum & ipse in primo *de Oratore* meminit : (2) *quid est enim* (inquit) *tam furiosum, quàm verborum, vel optimorum atque ornatissimorum, sonitus inanis? nullà subjectâ sententiâ, nec scientiâ.* Cave tamen, amabo, ne credas me Ciceronem interdicendum velle pueris, a quibus nunquam non terendus est, & ex quo quicquid libero homine dignum est hauriri possint. Unde, quaeso, Latinam linguam faciliùs, meliùs, citiùs ediscant, quàm ab ipso Romanae eloquentiae principe? Vulgarem tamen docendi rationem improbare me non diffiteor. In scholas, quasi in pistrinum aliquod, detruduntur miselli; unde, sicuti pleraeque institutae sunt, librorum odium non amorem reportant : ac postea in Academiis quibusdam eruditis ineptiis tantùm non catenati, ipsas literas, propter literatorum inanem fastum, & odia ob res nihili internecina, per totam vitam aspernantur. *At ille se profecisse sciat,* inquit Quintilianus, *cui Cicero valde placebit.*

VIII. NON infusiùs aliquando de Cicerone ferunt ulli iudicium, quàm illi e quorum manibus (tuum, si sapiunt, sequuturi exemplum) neque interdiu neque noctu excuti debuit; viros intelligo natalium splendore & civili scientiâ nobiles. Ne pedaneus aliquis & calamistratus sit verborum propola, ne cum

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dispari aut inferioris fortis homine consortium incant, forsan verentur : sed tam a nobis, quàm re ipsâ meliùs edocti, digniùs sentiant. Hic igitur ille Cicero fuit, qui omnium (3) primus supremâ inter mortales appellatione exornatus, a Quinto Catulo senatus principe, ac communi reliquorum applausu (4) PATER PATRIAE salutus est ; imo ab ipso Catone, homine (si unquam) ab omni assentandi suspicione alieno, (5) sic nominabatur. Hoc etiam a civium in libera Republica suffragiis confirmatum, ubi honorum tituli gratuita proponebantur virtuti merces : non, uti hic ipse paulò post, in dissolutissimos conferebatur Imperatores ; nec uti jam inde, in hoc usque tempus, minutulo cuivis Tyranno ab iis tribuitur, quibus in animo ante omnia exosus est. Lucius Gellius (ut ipse in *L. Pisonem*) civicam ei coronam deberi dixit, ob Rempublicam servatam. Hic (ut iterum dicam) fuit ille Cicero, qui adversâ praevalente factione, & ab illa jam urbe exulaturus, quam nuperrimè non minori conservavit sapientiâ, quàm antea moderatus est, totum viderat equestrem ordinem, vestem (ut tunc moris erat) pro se (6) mutantem. Quid senatum nominem ? cum idem cuncta (7) Italia, tanquam in publica aliqua calamitate, fecisset ; cumque ipse, quando sordidatus populo supplicaret, a nobilissimis viginti mille de-

(3) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 7. c. 10. Juvenal. Sat. 8.

(4) Orat. in L. Pisonem, c. 3. & pro P. Sextio, c. 57.

(5) Vide Plutarch. in Cicerone, & de eodem Appianum.

(6) Orat. pro P. Sextio, c. 11.

(7) Ibid. c. 16, 60, &c.

precatoribus, nobilibus præcipuè adolescentibus, vestibus pariter mutatis, (8) comitabatur. Sustainatus in hunc modum, tantopere dilectus, venerandus omnibus, & admirationi habitus, quàm faciliè obsequium detrectare, ac inimicos apertâ vi profligare posset? Illis, e contrario, qui nimiam in eo lenitatem aut timiditatem culpabant, jugiter respondit: malle se officiosè legibus morem gerere, etsi in perniciem suam detortis; quàm seditiosè contendere, ubi Reipublicae institutis, & civium vitis, tum clades tum victoria esset juxta exitiabilis futura. *Ego (inquit ille in quodam (9) loco) tantis periculis propositis (cùm si victus essem, interitus Reipublicae; si vicissem, infinita dimicatio pararetur) committerem, ut idem perditor Reipublicae nominarer, qui servator fuisssem? Mortem me timuisse dicis. Ego verò ne immortalitatem quidem contra Rempublicam accipiendam putarem, nedum e-mori cum pernici Reipublicae vellem: nam qui pro Republica vitam dediderunt (licet me desipere dicatis) nunquam mehercle eos mortem potius quam immortalitatem assequutos putavi. Quàm insigne probi civis & optimi philosophi exemplar!*

IX. UT penitiùs intelligatur quantopere haec agendi ratio popularium illi conciliavit benevolentiam, quantoque apud optimos quos-

(8) Ibid. c. 12. & passim in Orat. post redit. in senat.

(9) Orat. pro Cn. Plancio, c. 36.

que in pretio fuit, revoces tantum in memoriam, injustae expulsiōis tristitiam velocis laetitiae redditus oppidò superatam. Neglecta poena (10) recipientibus, omnes ubique honorificentissimè illum exceperunt, ac in exteris provinciis insolitis prosequuti sunt honoribus. Illis, qui quocunque modo ei subvenissent, gratiae a Senatu actae, quod ipse meminit *pro Domo sua*: ut & decreta ibidem amplissima recenseret de ipsius redditu, non paganorum solummodo, montanorum, & collegiorum urbanorum, sed civitatum etiam, nationum, provinciarum, regum, ac orbis denique terrarum. Legati in ipso redditu non solum ab omnibus Italiae urbibus, coloniis, praefecturis, & municipiis gratulabundi occurrunt (ut videre est in Orationibus *pro P. Sextio* & *in L. Pisonem*) sed ab iis insuper qui hosce miserunt, cum conjugibus & liberis, cum servis item & colonis, agebantur dies festi, viae publicae arctabantur. Obviam ei extra urbem Senatus & Populus egressus (qualis nulli unquam contigit honos) quasi (11) *Roma, sedibus suis convulsa, ad suum conservatorem complectendum processisset*. Splendidissimè sic a bonis omnibus in Capitolium deductus est, ac *humeris* (ut ipse (12) alicubi dixit, & ut Rhetor ei sub Salustii nomine objicit) *Italiae reportatus*: unde non sine ra-

(10) Orat. pro domo sua apud Pontifi. c. 20. Item Plutarch. in Cicerone.

(11) Orat. in Lucium Pisonem, c. 22.

(12) In extrema Oratione post redit. in senatu. Inveſt. Saluſt. c. 4.

tionem (13) unum illum diem immortalitati aequiparandum censebat.

X. UT totum itaque Ciceronem in hoc conspectu exhibeam, quo jam non nisi dimidiatum & minusculum effinxi, novam ejus operum de integro molior editionem: eoque etiam animo, ut eadem commodiora prorsus & utiliora iis, in quorum gratiam conscripta sunt, officiosus reddam; Principibus scilicet viris & Nobilibus, Philosophis etiam, Politicis, Judicibus, & omnibus quibuscunque Magistratibus. Quum aliis hi sint magnâ ex parte districti occupationibus, plurimi equidem interest, ut hunc praeceptorem suum inoffenso pede, & non suspensis quasi vestigiis, percurrant. Sine mediocri saltem literarum usu, neque diuturnum quidquam, neque stabile, in aliis rebus invenient. Hoc solum permanet, ac in omni vitae parte jucundè inservit: *nam ceterae* (inquit Tullius (14) noster) *neque temporum sunt, neque aetatum omnium, neque locorum; haec studia adolescentiam agunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.* Hujus pulcherrimae descriptionis veritatem nemo usquam te ipso (Vir Doctissime) frequentius expertus est. Domi, foris, in castris, in itineribus, seu mari seu terrâ versaris,

(13) Orat. in L. Pison. c. 22. & alibi.

(14) Orat. pro Archia poeta, c. 7.

libri semper comites, libri semper ad manum. Qualisnam tandem futura est selectissima illa Bibliotheca? Sed tandem aliquando modum illum & consilium, quod in hac nova editione sequendum constituo, tibi me exponere par est; haud dubius, quin, tam in erratis benignè condonandis, quàm in iisdem severè corrigendis, sis acque futurus religiosus. Operis verò Conditiones vel Articuli (ut loquuntur) sic se habent.

XI. ART. I. CHARTAM non solummodo meliorem, & literas quàm in ulla hactenus editione venustiores, sed quas aut inveniri aut etiam effingi poterunt optimas, nomine pollicor Bibliopolae, qui haec praestare obstrictus est; ac, ut bonâ fide exsolvat promissa, ego certè curabo. Neque cultus aut ornatus negligeretur: nitorem enim & elegantiam in hac Editione, non minùs quàm omnimodam aliàm bonitatem proponens, quatuor figurae vel imagines leniori ex aere caelaturâ, ab artificiosa manu profectae, quatuor partibus, in quas Ciceronis opera distribuuntur, adaptandae sunt; Rhetoricae nimirum, Oratoriae, Epistolari, & Philosophicae. Numorum itidem, gemmarum, lapidum, Ciceronem quoquomodo referentium, in primò volumine inserentur ectypa, ad summam fidem expressa. Sed prae omnibus orrabit librum nostrum icuncula Ciceronis aerea, ex Kempiano Cimelio ad justam magnitudinem repraesentanda. Nihil autem Museo hoc Joannis Kempii, viri candidissimi, selecti-

us

us aut elegantius; cùm simulacris, inscriptionibus, numismatibus, & omni genere rariorum veterum relliquiarum, summo adhibito colligendi iudicio, sit refertum. Editionis verò hæc conditio tam facilè intelligitur, ut pluribus hic uti verbis nequaquam sit necesse.

XII. ART. 2. TEXTUM (uti vocant) omnium hætenus fore emendatissimum, tam verborum quàm interpunctionis respectu habito, haud gravatim in me suspicio. Accurata hæc interpungendi ratio, tam proficua tamque necessaria, in cunctis desideratur editionibus, adeo ut hoc ipsum, si nihil aliud præstandum esset, novam postulare videatur. Quantum solus hic defectus auctorem reddiderit difficilem, ac lectoris voluptatem minuerit, non cuiusvis modò experientia, sed quotidianæ pariter undequaque querimoniae, satis manifestum faciunt. Idoneum ergo huic vulneri remedium ferre, rem esse immensi laboris & industriæ nullus non fatebitur: ista tamen pensæ nostræ portio jampridem absoluta est, cùm ego manu propriâ totum Ciceronem, praelo quando lubuerit subjiciendum, ante aliquot annos interpunxerim. Solertiam meam in his minutis & patientiam laudari, non acumen aut ingenium suspici, cupio. De literis proculdubio non malè meritus est Probus ille Valerius apud (15) Suetonium, qui *multa exemplaria contracta emendare ac distinguere, & ad-*

notari curavit: soli huic, nec ulli praeterea Grammatices parti, deditus. Sed unum aut alterum interpungendi exhibere specimen non erit a scopo nostro alienum. Locus hic, ex (16) tertio *de natura Deorum*, sic in Gronoviana distinguitur editione, omnium nempe recentissimâ. *Quòd si tales Dii sunt, ut rebus humanis intersint: Natio quoque Dea putanda est: cui, cùm fana circumus in agro Ardeati, rem divinam facere solemus. quæ quia partus matronarum tueatur, a Nascentibus Natio nominata est. Ea si dea est; dii omnes illi qui commemorabantur a te, Honos, Fides, Mens, Concordia. Ergo etiam Spes, Moneta, omniaque quæ cogitatione nobismet ipsis possumus fingere. quod si verisimile non est: ne illud quidem est, haec unde fluxerunt.* Ego verò sic distinguere malim, quod aliorum censurae subijcio. *Quòd si tales Dii sunt, ut rebus humanis intersint, Natio quoque Dea putanda est: cui, cùm fana circumus in agro Ardeati, rem divinam facere solemus; quæ, quia partus matronarum tueatur, a nascentibus Natio nominata est. Ea si Dea est; Dii omnes illi, qui commemorabantur a te, Honos, Fides, Mens, Concordia: ergo etiam Spes, Moneta, omniaque quæ cogitatione nobismet ipsis possumus fingere; quod si verisimile non est, ne illud quidem haec unde fluxerunt.* In oratione pro Lucio Cornelio Balbo sequenti modo locus, ex capite 24to depromtus interpungitur. *Sacra Cereris, Iudices,*

(16) Cap. 18.

sum-

summâ Majores nostri religione confici, caeremoniaque voluerunt: quæ cum essent assumpta de Græcia, & per Græcas semper curata sunt sacerdotes, & Græca omnia nominata: sed cum illam, quæ Græcum illud sacrum monstraret, & faceret, ex Græcia deligerent: tamen sacra pro civibus civem facere voluerunt, ut Deos immortales scientia peregrina, & externa; mente domestica, & civili precaretur. Ego sic, & rectè, ni fallor, interpungo. Sacra Cereris (Judices) summâ majores nostri religione confici caeremoniaque voluerunt; quæ, cum essent assumpta de Graecia, & per Graecas semper curata sunt Sacerdotes, & Graeca omnia nominata: sed cum illam, quæ Graecum illud sacrum monstraret & faceret, ex Graecia deligerent, tamen sacra pro civibus civem facere voluerunt; ut Deos immortales scientiâ peregrina & externa, mente domesticâ & civili, precaretur. Quòd locos hosce non dedita operâ, selègerim cuicunque librum, ubi volet, inspicienti patebit; nec unquam ferè aliter se res habet. Non loci solùm & versus ex aliis scriptoribus, a Cicerone allegatis diverso Characterè imprimuntur (ut a quibusdam jam rectè factum est) sed talia quaedam hætenus non animadversa, nec ideo ab ipsius propriis verbis satis distincta, a nobis ad aliorum normam excudentur. Commata (sive Caesa Latiniùs vel Incisa mavis) tam multa aliquando occurrunt, ut non distinguant & articulent, sed interrumpant & perturbent. Colon, sive media

dia distinctio, a semicolo rariùs discriminatur; priori siquidem crebriùs utuntur editores, quia, in codicibus infimae aetatis manuscriptis, omnium ferè aliarum interpunctionum locum obtinebat. Puncta, seu absolutae Periodi, saepissime sine ullo iudicio interferuntur, nec sequentis periodi prima litera semper (uti debuit) maiuscula est: quae omnia lectorem habent mirificè perplexum, maximâ auctorem injuria afficiunt, & ipsius paginae speciem deformant. Loci tamen quos superiùs adduxi, ad alios comparati, emendatissimi sunt, ut cuivis ad aperturam libri apparebit. Cum quacunque etiam volueris editione conferantur illi loci, quos, ubi usus venit, in sequentibus allegaturus sum. Membra haec & particulae orationis multoties a Cicerone nostro, summo scribendi artifice, commemorantur; iisque duplicem attribuit causam, sermonis nempe distinctionem, & respirationem lectoris. Illo autem tempore incisionibus, ductibus, punctis, aliisque hujus generis notis signabantur istiusmodi clausulae; quamvis sequentibus seculis tota haec scribendi ratio a festinantibus Librariis, nulla distinctione nedum vocum distantia servatâ, in pejus omnino immutata est. *Clausulas* (inquit Cicero in tertio *de Oratore*) *atque interpuncta verborum, animae interclusio atque angustiae spiritus attulerunt. Versus enim* (sic paulo superius loquitur) *veteres illi in hac soluta oratione propemodum, hoc est numeros quosdam, nobis esse adhibendos putaverunt: interspira-*
tionis

tionis enim non defatigationis nostrae, neque librariorum notis, sed verborum & sententiarum, modo interpunctas clausulas in orationibus esse voluerunt. Non ergo interpunctione tantum, sed & re ipsa, distinguere debebant partes orationis: *neque semper utendum est perpetuitate, & quasi conversione verborum; sed saepe carpenda membris minutioribus oratio est, quae tamen ipsa membra sunt numeris vincienda: ne* (quod in Oratore dicit) *infinite feratur, ut flumen, oratio; quae non aut spiritu pronunciantis, aut interductu librarii, sed numero coacta debet insistere.* Et quidem frustra sunt cum omni notarum apparatu, qui structurâ & sententiâ non sua scripta distinguant.

XIII. ART. 3. POST *Dedicationem* (de qua in hac Ichnographia non opus est ut amplius loquar) sequetur *Vita Ciceronis*, per Consulatus intersecta, ac a Francisco Fabricio Marcodurano conscripta. Ejusdem vitae rationes ab aliis pariter editas multis nominibus post se reliquit Fabricius, vir summa diligentia, judicio, & candore praeditus: nec ob ea quae ipsum effugerunt tam est culpandus, quam laudandus propter ea quae solertissime omnium collegit. Inter plura quae praetermisit, annumeranda ratio illa est, quam in Ciceronis elogio supra retulimus; qua ipse nempe in exilium profectio a nimia lenitate & timiditate vindicatur. Ut aliud adhuc exemplum praebeam, nullam adhibuit defensio-

nem

nem contra illos, qui levitatis eum & inconstantiae insimularunt ; quia cum iis nimirum, a quibus antea solebat dissentire, in gratiam non semel redierat. Non ille tamen, sed ejus familiares de sententia decedebant, nec ullus sapiens secus unquam fecerat: *illi namque, qui iisdem, quicquid agant, pertinacius student, non judicium aliquod habent de Reipublicae utilitate* (ut optimè (17) animadvertit) *sed hominibus amici aut inimici sunt.* Ipsum ulterius loquentem audias, & si potes, reprehendas. (18) *Stare enim omnes debemus tanquam in orbe aliquo Reipublicae ; qui, quoniam versetur, eam deligere partem, ad quam nos illius utilitas salusque converterit.* Regulam hanc egregiâ illustrat similitudine. (19) *An cum videam navem secundis ventis, cursum suum tenentem, si non ea eum petat portum, quem ego aliquando probavi, sed alium non minùs tutum atque tranquillum, cum tempestate pugnem periculosè potiùs, quàm illi, salute praesertim propositâ, obtemperem & paream? neque enim inconstantis puto sententiam, tanquam aliquod navigium atque cursum, ex reipublicae tempestate moderari. Ego verò haec didici, haec vidi, haec scripta legi; haec de sapientissimis & clarissimis viris, & in hac republica & in aliis civitatibus, monumenta nobis literae prodiderunt: non semper easdem sententias ab iisdem, sed quasunque*

(17) Orat. pro Cn. Plancio, c. 39.

(18) Ibid. c. 38.

(19) Ibid. c. 39.

Reipublicae status, inclinatio temporum, ratio concordiae postulare, esse defendendas, quod ego & facio (Laterensis) & semper faciam; libertatemque, quam in me requiris, quam ego neque dimisi unquam neque dimittam, non in pertinacia, sed in quadam moderatione positam putabo. Talia bene multa Ciceronis historiae perneccessaria, nec minoris momenti ad vulgaria de vitae ratione eluenda praecjudicia, in *Annalibus* a Fabricio omittuntur.

XIV. ART. 4. Ut huic ergo auctori succenturiatus veniam, tractatui ipsius, pro meo jure, *Critico-Historicam Dissertationem* subnectam. Multa persequetur specialia capita ab aliis scriptoribus, qui totam Ciceronis vitam, aut aliquam saltem scripserunt partem, observata, ut & praetermissa. Tales sunt Plutarchus, Leonardus Aretinus, Constantius Felix, Henricus Bullingerus, Petrus Ramus, Sebastianus Corradus, & alii plurimi. Disceptationes pariter eruditorum & disquisitiones, siue laudem Ciceronis siue vituperium exhibentes, in Dissertatione nostra pari fidelitate & brevitate exponentur; ut & omnia quae fortem ipsius aut timidum animum, aequitatem, doctrinam, partium studium, stilum, amores (si Diis placet) vel similia spectant. Duo jam a Fabricio omissa notavi, quibus tertium nunc adjiciendum. Nullum ferè hominem aut librum consules, qui Ciceronem non nimium sane & valde frequentem in propriis laudibus crimentur. Statim dicturi sunt Lucium Lucceium,

ceium, ut Consulatus sui historiam (a seipso Latinis versibus & prosa Graeca editam) soluta oratione perscriberet, maximè (20) sollicitatum; eandemque gratiam, cum a (21) Graeculo quodam, ut eundem Consulatum Graecis scilicet versibus ederet, expetiisse: imo triumphum se reportaturos non desperant, quando ab amico suo Marco Bruto culpatum (22) ostendunt, quòd Nonas Decembris semper in ore haberet: tempus videlicet illud quo Catilinae conjurationem everterat. Sed, ut innumeris non immorer exemplis quibus se defendere posset, immensa illa laudum cupido, sine qua nihil unquam aut bonum aut magni susceptum, satis excusatum habet; *nullam enim virtus* (inquit ipse) (23) *aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat, praeter hanc laudis & gloriae: quàm quidem detractâ, quid est quod in hoc tam exiguo vitae curriculo & tam brevi, tantis nos in laboribus exerceamus?* Non solum tamen nominis perpetuandi desiderium (quamvis & id quoque prae oculis semper habuisse (24) generosè fatetur) eum, ut tam saepe de se loqueretur, impellerat. In multis aliis orationibus, aequè ac in illis pro *Domo sua*, pro *P. Sextio*, & in *L. Pisonem*, de rebus suis, non minùs quàm eorum quos vel defenderet vel accusaret, agebatur. Inimicorum praeterca mendacia & calumnias nunquam non

(20) Epist. fam. l. 5. ep. 12.

(21) Pro Archia, c. 11.

(22) Epist. fam. l. 1. ep. 9. ibid. ep. 16. & ep. 1. l. 1. ad Att.

(23) Orat. pro Archia Poeta, c. 11. & alibi.

(24) Ibid. c. 6. & infinitis aliis locis.

refellere ac diluere necessariò adigebatur, ut pluribus confirmare exemplis in proclivi foret: sed illud quod inimicissimo Clodio, idem hoc objicienti, respondit, ad reliquis omnibus os obturandum sufficit. *Et quoniam hoc reprehendis* (24) (inquit) *quòd solere me dicas de me ipso gloriosius praedicare; quis unquam audivit cum ego de me, nisi coactus & necessariò, dicerem. Nam si, cum mihi furta, largitiones, libidines, objiciuntur, ego respondere soleo, meis consiliis, periculis, laboribus, patriam esse conservatam; non tam sum existimandus de gestis rebus gloriari, quam de objectis non confiteri. Sed si mihi, ante haec durissima Reipublicae tempora, nihil unquam aliud objectum est, nisi crudelitas illius temporis, cum a patria perniciem depuli; quid? me huic maledicto utrùm non respondere, an demissè respondere decuit? Ego verò, etiam Reipublicae semper interesse putavi, me illius pulcherrimi facti (quod ex auctoritate senatus, consensu bonorum omnium, pro salute patriae gessissem) splendorem verbis, dignitatemque retinere: praesertim cum mihi uni in hac Republica, audiente populo Romano, operâ mea hanc urbem & hanc Rempublicam esse salvam, jurato dicere fas fuisset. Integrum hunc descripsi locum, ut una eademque operâ vulgaris hujus accusationis appareat levitas, utque omissiones quas Fabricio imputavi, non*

(25) Orat. pro Domo sua ad Pontif. c. 35, 36. consulatur etiam cap. 12. orationis pro L. Sulla.

de nihilo videantur. Plurimas hujus generis animadversiones continebit Dissertatio nostra; sed, locis quàm brevissimè indicatis, neque crassa nimis erit neque praelonga.

XV. ART. 5. TUNC insequetur *Textus*, eo, quo dixi, more castigatus; ac propter citationum facilitatem, in capita, majusculis notis arithmeticis insignita, distinctus. Sed alii paragraphi, absque ullo judicio facti, penitus ablegantur. Ut in quibusdam editionibus usu venit, sic in nostra quoque praefiguntur *Libri quatuor Rhetoricorum ad Herennium*; seu a Cornificio vel patre vel filio conscripti, seu a Marco Gallione, aut quocunque alio, quod in argumento, priori libro praeponendo, examinabitur. Auctorem, non doctrinâ neque eloquentiâ destitutum, Ciceronis tempore, aut non multò saltem post vixisse, satis constat. Sed quando earundem cum eo rerum & nominum definitiones tradit (quod per saepe fit) disparitas adeo palpabilis sese prodit, ut de contrariis etiam sententiis nihil dicam, quòd mirer mediis fidius Sanctum Hieronymum olim & Priscianum, vel nuperiùs Marinellum & Kirchmaierum libros hos Ciceroni attribuisse. Hujus postremo dicti indubitatis operibus & fragmentis *Invectivam* contra illum, Crispo Sallustio adscriptam, & *Responsionem* non minùs ridiculè sibi ipsi imputatam, subtexam: haec enim symbolam qualemcunque ad ejus Historiam conferunt, nihilque ullo lectorum generi in nostra editione desiderandum relinquunt.

Prop.

Propter easdem rationes *Orationem ad Populum & Equites antequam iret in exilium, & Declamationem*, vel potius *Epistolam ad Octavium* additurus sum: cùm in manuscriptis enim codicibus locum invenerint, cur idem in impressis privilegium non obtineant, haud perspicio. Reliquis etiam *Consolationem* adungere visum, non ideo duntaxat quòd a quibusdam etiamnum genuina credatur; sed quia, ut eruditissimus simul & reverendissimus Joannes Albertus Fabricius (26) advertit, eleganter scripta & lectu digna est. Alia quaedam scripta, ut manifestò spuria & barbara, praetermitto; qualia sunt *Oratio pro Marco Valerio, liber de synonymis ad L. Viæturium, Orpheus sive de adolescente studioso, & Tironis notae Tachygraphicae*. Quod ad Ciceronis *de Memoria artificiali libellum*, Jacobo Lectio & aliis memoratum, attinet, fabricatus est a nescio quo, qui fraudis occasionem ex decimo sexto capite libri tertii *Rhetoricorum ad Herennium*, Ciceroni falsò (ut diximus) adscripti captavit. Locus sic se habet. *Memoria utrùm habeat quidquam artificiosi, an omnis a natura profisciscatur, aliud dicendi tempus magis idoneum dabitur. Nunc perinde atque constet in hac re multum valere artem & praeceptionem, ita de ea re loquemur: placet enim nobis esse artificium memoriae, quare placeat aliàs ostendemus*. Tractatus ipse nihil aliud est quàm reliqui hujus ter-

(26) Bibliot. Latin. in Cicerone.

tii libri ad finem usque interpolatio. Ars verò Memoriae Ciceroni probata, & sub Antonii persona tradita, legi potest in capitibus 86, 87, 88, libri secundi *de Oratore*. Ad omnium denique complementum, *Orationem Graecam de pace*, cum ejusdem Latina versione, ex Dione (27) Cassio inferendam putavi. Latina illa, quae pro ipsius Tullii foetu, a Carolo Merovillio in editione *Orationum in usum Delphini* obtruditur, pudendis ubique scatet Gallicisms, neque probioris est monetae, quàm Petronii Fragmenta Nodotiana. Ut, quod ad Textum pertinet, nihil amplius in praesens differam, *Epistolis* subjicietur *Index Chronologicus*, ea serie qua scriptae sunt, illas accuratè digerens, quod, ad istorum temporum historiam enucleandam, non parum adfert momenti: nam qui rerum gestarum ordinem non praeculis habent, ii planè in rebus ipsis caecutiunt.

XVI. ART. 6. CUNCTIS libris, *Orationibus*, *Dialogis*, & *Epistolis* succincta praefiguntur, sed accurata, *Argumenta*, sive Praefationes; absque his enim omnia intellectu difficillima reperientur, neque cum ullo fructu perlegenda. Hoc linguarum intermortuarum fatum est: Quando aliorum argumenta satis nobis arridebunt, lubenter illis, sub propriorum auctorum nominibus, usuri sumus. Quando vel nimis longa sunt, vel nimis pressa,

maximè autem cùm talia nulla existunt, novis tunc cudendis elaborabimus. *Philosophicos omnes & Rhetoricos quosdam Libros ipse argumentis ab integro donabo : siquidem absque hoc, genuina Ciceronis de rebus sententia haudquaquam dignosci queat ; quoniam non semper quid verè cogitarit, sed quid causa, tempus, locus, & auditores postularant, dicere consueverit. Hoc ipse certè, in Oratione supra memoratâ pro A. Cluentio, apertè (28) fatetur : quando etenim ab Attio objectum, aliâ eum occasione planè contrarium propugnasse, discretè sic respondit. Illa oratio potius temporis mei, quàm judicii, & auctoritatis, fuit ; cum enim accusarem & mihi initio proposuissem, ut animos & populi Romani & judicium commoverem : cumque omnes offensiones judiciorum, non ex mea opinione, sed ex hominum rumore, proferrem ; istam rem, quae tam populariter est agitata, praeterire non potui. Sed errat vehementer siquis in Orationibus nostris, quas in judiciis habuimus, auctoritates nostras consignatas se habere arbitratur : omnes enim illae Orationes causarum & temporum sunt, non hominum ipsorum ac patronorum. Si huic loco aliisque similibus, advertissent Lectores, non Ciceronem tam saepe insulsissimè citatum deprehenderemus, neque quamplurima illi, ab iis quae fecerit & senserit alienissima, tam indignè fuissent attributa. Tale quid ab Asconio Pediano, in scholiis ad primam pro Cornelio*

(28) Orat. pro A. Cluentio, c. 50.

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adnotatur. Sed exactissimè hoc in Dialogis animadvertendum est, quoniam ad ea, quae ex diametro cum veris ipsius sententiis pugnant, confirmanda, vulgò allegantur; quasi sufficeret, nulla loquentis ratione habitâ, ut hoc vel illud in Cicerone offendatur. Nonne animi sui sensum, in libris *de Oratore*, cum ex ore Marci Crassi tradere perspicuum est? Quando sibi pro se *de Haruspicum responsis* in senatu perorandum erat, Divinationibus & Praesagiis aliquid tribuere videri (29) voluit; idem in libris *de Legibus*, qui populo destinabantur, (30) obtendit: sed ea omnia in illis *de Divinatione*, pro alio hominum genere (Philosophis nimirum) conscriptis, praefractè quidem & planissimè evertit. Nonne ipse Cotta ille est, seu Academicus, in libris *de Natura Deorum*? Unde idcirco in citationibus inde pro ideis innatis, causis finalibus, consensu universali, & talibus rebus, desumptis; non Cicero, qui haec aspernatur, citari debuit, sed Velleius Epicureus apud Ciceronem, Balbus Stoicus apud Ciceronem, & sic de aliis. At si quis (ut multi prae se ferunt) addubitat illum sub Cottae ibi persona loquutum, quia in libri tertii conclusione, iudicium hocce tanquam (31) Auditor, tulerat; *haec cum essent dicta ita discessimus, ut Velleio Cottae disputatio verior, mihi Balbi ad veritatis similitudinem videretur esse propen-*

(29) Cap. 9. legatur etiam pro Domo sua ad Pontif.

(30) Lib. 2. c. 13.

(31) Cap. 40. & ult.

fior:

fior: si aliquis (inquam) contentionis quàm veritatis cupidior, non videt clausulam hanc idem prorsus esse, ac apud recentiores librum paradoxum Catholicae, ut loquimur, Ecclesiae iudicio submittere; vel, ut Quintus Cicero aliis verbis fratri (32) subridens ait, *ne communia jura migrare videatur*, is advertat velim, cum in libris *de Divinatione* (qui, ipso (33) pluries dicente, horum *de Natura Deorum* sunt tantummodo continuatio) larvam sibi apertè detrahare, ac eadem omnino suo ipsius nomine affirmare. Sed, ne mentem ejus non caperent tandem Lectores, subverens, satis speciatim subjectam illorum Librorum sententiam in fine secundi *de Divinatione*, his verbis (34) declarat. *Ut verè loquamur, Superstitio fusa per gentes oppressit omnium ferè animos, atque hominum imbecillitatem occupavit; quod & in iis Libris dictum est, qui sunt de Natura Deorum, & hac Disputatione id maxime egimus: multum enim & nobismet ipsis & nostris profuturi videbamur, si eam funditus sustulissemus. Nec verò (id enim diligenter intelligi volo) superstitione tollendâ Religio tollitur: nam & majorum instituta tueri, sacris caeremoniisque retinendis, sapientis est; & esse praestantem aliquam aeternamque Naturam, & eam suspiciendam admirandamque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi or-*

(32) De divinat. l. 1. c. 5.

(33) Conferatur cap. 8. l. 3. de Nat. Deor. cum 7. l. 1. de divinat. & potissimum cum cap. 1. l. 2.

(34) Ibid. c. 72.

doque rerum coelestium cogit confiteri. Quamobrem, ut Religio propaganda etiam, quae est juncta cum cognitione naturae; sic superstitionis stirpes omnes ejiciendae. Eadem regula in *Tusculanis Disputationibus*, & aliis omnibus dialogis perlegendis, est sedulò observanda, ut in Argumentis iis praefixis fusius explicabimus: non quòd sollicitus sim quaenam fuerit Ciceronis de ulla re sententia (cùm nullius in verba jurandum censeam) sed ut criticè tantum & historicè lecturis de vera ipsius mente, seu erraverit necne, constaret. Argumentis praecipuè opus est ante *Orationes*, quae ideo minus placent & intelliguntur quàm reliqua Ciceronis opera, quia perpetuae inibi allusiones & provocationes ad Leges fiunt. Quamvis Orator enim & Jurisconsultus non iidem (ut a millibus ineptè putatur) fuissent, & quòd *Orationes* hae tantum a recentioribus fori ac titationibus, quantum Romanae Reipublicae Proceres a conductis Advocatis differant: legum tamen Romanarum non solum peritissimus, sed in omnibus itidem Juris subtilitatibus, tricis, & argutiolis erat Cicero versatissimus, quod ab illo Jurisprudentiae & Franguerae suae ornamento, Antonio Schultingio, luculentissimè (35) demonstratum est. Non possum quin, hac occasione, unicum ex oratione pro *L. Murena*, adducam locum, ubi quorundam Jurisconsultorum scribendi ratio (quod de Medicis nonnullis aequè verum est)

(35) In Oratione de Jurisprudentia M. T. Ciceronis,

falsè (36) perstringitur; quòd mirifico scilicet inaniam aut barbararum vocum involucro sua omnia ex industriâ obtegant: *quae dum erant occulta* (inquit noster) *necessariò ab eis, qui ea tenebant, petebantur; postea verò pervulgata, atque in manibus jactata & excussa, inanissima prudentiae reperta sunt, fraudis autem & stultitiae plenissima.* Sed ut de Graecis in totum fileam, quòd nullâ seu a Juris seu a Medicinae ingenio, necessitate adacti ita Latinè scribant recentiores, satis superque testantur Celsus Medicus, & illi, quorum in *Pandectis* habemus fragmenta, doctiores Jurisconsulti. Ut obiter dicam, fragmenta, quotquot extant, *duodecim Tabularum* ad calcem librorum *de Legibus*, propter non leves rationes, suo loco dicendas, inferere operae pretium duxi.

XVII. ART. 7. VARIAE alicujus momenti *Lectiones* hætenus in lucem emissæ, cum plurium manuscriptorum codicum collationibus, a me ipso vel ab amicis factis, ad uniuscujusque paginae calcem adjicientur. Hic labor non invitè nec ignavè impendendus est, cum antiqui scriptores fuerint ab indoctis librariis miserum in modum lacinati, & in illâ sæculorum barbarie, non omnes duntaxat faedè lacerati, sed plerique etiam ad interitum perducti; adeo ut ullos ex tanto naufragio superesse, pro miraculo habendum sit.

At nugas istas, quibus librum & famam suam onerare gestiunt quidam editores, maximâ qua possit sedulitate evitabimus; quales sunt meri descriptoris lapsus, aut voces quae utroque modò aequè commodè scribuntur: utrùm (verbi gratiâ) *tanquam* vel *tamquam*, *unquam* vel *umquam*, *paenè* vel *penè*, *foelix* vel *felix*, *caeterùm* vel *ceterùm*, *imprimis* vel *inprimis*, cum talibus innumeris, legere debeamus. Nec similia nudè unquam proponuntur, sed criticis (si Diis placet) observationibus semper ad ostentationem comitata. Modi quinetiam loquendi, quibus promiscuè uti possumus, aut nunquam pro variis lectionibus aut simpliciter tantum allegari debent. An opus erat ut celeberrimus Jacobus Gronovius, qui aliàs non malè de Cicerone meritis est, notam, triginta versibus & charactere constantem minutissimo, (37) conderet? qua seriò discuteret, utrùm *ad confirmandum & confutandum* scribendum esset, an *ad confirmandum & ad confutandum*, praepositione nempe repetitâ: cùm dicere satius fuisset, utrumque scribendi modum esse probum & aequaliter usurpatum; quod de *in*, & *ab*, & *e*, ac aliis perinde praepositionibus, intelligi debet. Aures hic non membranae consulendae. Quando ergo varia aliqua lectio eundem exprimet sensum, & puram etiam ab utraque parte latinitatem, tunc vocem eam aut phrasin textui inseram quae ipsi auctori consuetior, vel fide manuscripto-

(37) Ad Cap. 13. l. 3. Rhet. ad Heren.

rum firmatior : sic in Cicerone *duo excellentes ingenii adolescentes* malo, quàm *duo excellentis ingenii adolescentes*, ut & *in ista barbaria* quàm *in ista barbarie*. *Inscientia* verò & *Inscitia* ita promiscuè utitur Orator, ut solus periodi numerus utramlibet praeponderare faciat. Scire velim, quare Lambinus adverbium *quoque*, ex sua conjecturâ, adverbio *quidem*, manuscriptorum auctoritate firmato, praeposuerit in hoc (38) loco? *Vide, quaeso, si omnis motus, omniaque quae certis temporibus ordinem suum conservant, divina ducimus, ne tertianas quidem febres & quartanas divinas esse dicendum sit* ; ubi *quidem*, si non idem prorsus ac *quoque* significat, magis eleganter & emphaticè hic inservit. Tales itaque miserrimas conjecturas, & syllabarum captationes, in totum ex nostra editione eliminabimus. Operosam hanc provinciam miro studio excoluit Gulielmius. Sic *genium* in loco quodam sub finem (39) primi *de Legibus*, invitis codicibus, prae *ingenio* mallet ; quasi *ingenium* illic non magis esset appositum. Quamvis enim idem plerumque significant, cum *Genius* tamen pro spiritu ab humana mente distincto saepe accipiatur, non dubito quin Cicero, ubi de hominis sui ipsius & facultatum naturalium cognitione tractat (quod ibi facit) *ingenium* consultò scripserit. Paucis interjectis versibus, nullâ necessitate nec ma-

(38) Ad Cap. 10. l. 3. de Nat. Deor.

(39) Ad Cap. 22. l. 1. de Leg.

nuscriptorum fide compulsus, *a natura subornatus* excudendum voluit *natura sua ornatus*; quod deformare potius quàm emendare est. Quàm multos locos sanos satis & castigatos sic jugularunt maleferiati Critici? ut ingenii sui acumen, & ne nihil ex se afferre aut effecisse videantur, ostendant. Quantum, per Deum immortalem! tineis, blattis, & carici debent nonnulli? qui voculis appendendis, & dimetiendis literulis, non levem gloriam aucupantur; ac ea propter antiquos legunt auctores, ut mendas offendant aut faciant, non ut qualemcunque illinc utilitatem vel sibi vel aliis proferant. Hujus generis est quod Gruterus in locum sequentem (40) confert: *quantum intervallum tandem inter te atque illum interjectum putas?* Eleganter omnino dictum. Quid igitur corrigendum? *Tollas intervallum* (inquit) *tollas interjectum, nihil discefferit de auctoris sententia*: quasi Cicero tam Laconicâ usus esset scribendi ratione, ut non unico verbo, praeterquam quod sensui suo exprimendo absolutè necessarium esset, uteretur; cùm in sententiarum explendis numeris (soluta namque Oratio suos non minus quàm constricta numeros habet) sit maxime sedulus. Copiosa profectò apud Ciceronem omnia, sed nihil supervacuum; quo verò copiosior, eo melior. Res, ut mea fert sententia, prorsus intoleranda est, conjectores hosce quid Auctorem scripisse vel decuit vel

(40) Ad c. 5. Orat. pro C. Rabirio.

oportuit, sibi definiendum arrogare; praesertim cum alicujus tantum mendosi codicis omissione suffulti sint. *Nec abducar* (inquit Quintus (41) Cicero) *ut rear, aut in extis totam Etruriam delirare, aut eandem gentem in fulguribus errare.* Exclamat Gruterus, (42) *Vix potui refraenare manum, quin ejicerem illud, ut rear, quod nullo apice compareret in Palatino primo aut secundo; & certè Latine loquetur Tullius, quamvis refecetur.* Sed non minus Latine loquetur si permaneat; nam ex earum phrasium numero est, quae tam adesse quam abesse, sermonis filo non interrupto, possunt: & cum in pluribus insit bonae notae codicibus, aptius erat indicasse in duobus illis nequaquam extare. Sed quid isti non audeant? Una ex Gronovii conjecturis minus excusanda videtur. Super his Ciceronis (43) verbis, *at enim qui Patriâ potestate, hoc est Privatâ quâdam, Tribunitiam potestatem, hoc est Populi potestatem, infirmat, minuit is majestatem.* Gronovius, *non opinor quenquam, inquit, credidisse, aut crediturum sic ab Cicerone scribi potuisse.* Explicationes illas Patriae & Tribunitiae potestatis intelligit. Sed obliviscitur haec esse illius *constitutionis* subjecta exempla, quam Rhetores vocant *definitivam, qua vis vocabuli* (ut idem exponit ibidem Cicero) *definienda verbis est,*

(41) De Divinat. l. i. c. 18.

(42) Ad hunc locum.

(43) De Inventionem, lib. 2. c. 17.

ut si aliquis sic copiosius diceret : si perduellio, quae conjuratio tantum & rebellio est contra hominem mortalem, angustissimae ditionis magistratum, res adeo flagitiosa censenda sit ; quanto magis blasphemia, quae summi numinis rerum omnium conditoris, est degradatio quaedam & defamatio ? Voces *blasphemia* & *perduellio*, sine verbis hic adjectis definitivis, ab omnibus juxta intelliguntur ; attamen hodierni concionatores sacri, non minus quam veteres Gentilium oratores, sic efficacius auditorum animos commovendos arbitrantur. Paucissima allego e pluribus exempla. Aliud est variarum lectionum genus a sanis editoribus praetereundum, quando aequè de transcriptoris incertia, ac de ejusdem oscitatione, aut nimia festinatione, liquidò constat. Quomodo (inquit (44) Cicero) *aut mentientem, quem ψευδομενον vocant, dissolvas ? aut quemadmodum foriti resistas ?* Gruterus annotavit, tertium Palatinum manuscriptum habere *autem non mentientem*, quartum *aut non mentientem* : quasi publico magni interesset scire, descriptores olim fuisse non minus imperitos, quam sunt hodie plerique Typographi, qui subjecti operis ne verbum sacpe intelligunt ; neque pauciora, sine correctorum recognitionibus, admitterent ubique sphalmata. Sic in vulgaribus editionibus *pertractarent* ineptè inscribitur pro *retractarent* in hoc

(44) De Divinat. l. 2. c. 4.

(45) loco: *qui autem omnia quae ad cultum Deorum pertinerent, diligenter retractarent & tanquam relegerent, sunt dicti religiosi e religendo, ut elegantes ex eligendo.* Post Gothicam investam barbariem librorum omnium cura & descriptio penes solos Monachos fuit, qui tam crassâ laborarunt ignorantia, ut literae tantum non sint internecioni datae. Quare ubi loca aliqua Graeca in Scriptore Latino occurrebant, (sicut in illo jam allegato) appingi solebant haec aut similia verba: GRAECUM EST, NON LEGITUR. Immo vacuum multoties relinquebatur spatium, cum Graecas prorsus ignorarent literarum formas. Modis millibus vitiabatur auctorum vera scriptura: ut, exempli gratiâ, quando vel dictitans non satis clarè & distinctè pronunciabat voces cognati soni, vel quando describens literas affinis figurae confundebat. Sic dictitans quandoque notariis suggessit, non quae in exemplari suo erant adscripta, sed quae ipse meditando cogitabat. Describens saepissime peccavit ob repetitiones in eodem versu; unde unâ voce aut sententia exaratâ, alteram omisit, putans se id jam descripsisse; cuius etiam & contrarium variantes non semel produxit lectiones. Idem de ὁμοιοτελευτοῖς, sive de versibus similiter desinentibus, dictum esto: nam hinc omissiones multoties ortae sunt. Calligraphi denique pluribus controversiis ansum praebuerunt, dum nec delere vocem aut sen-

tentiam supervacuum, nec interferere voluerunt vitiose praeteritam; ne scriptiois scilicet decor periret, aut paginae species deformaretur. At ne excurram, miror Cocmannum, qui libris *de Oratore* emendatiùs edendis non spernendam contulit operam, hisce descriptorum lapsibus (quavis ferè paginâ) locum inter variantes lectiones concessisse. *Nam me haec tua platanus* (inquit (46) Cicero) *admonuit, quae non minus ad opacandum hunc locum patulis est diffusa ramis, quàm illa cujus umbram secutus est Socrates.* Hic Cocmannus indicat codicem Joanneum habere *ad pacandum*, Pithoeanum & Memmianum, quod Gruterus notavit, *placandum*, alium *occupandum*, alium *opacandum*; perperam certè & ineptè omnes. *Eloquentia* (addit Tullius in eodem capite) *Rempublicam dissipaverunt.* Hic iterum Cocmannus post Gruterum ex Pithoeano adducit *disparuerunt*, ac *disparaverunt* conjicit licentiùs (ut solet) & infelicissimè Gulielmius. Nihil idcirco hujus farinae in nostra Editione, nisi breviter aliquandò indicatum, comparebit: neque tantum mihi ipsi unquam permittam, ut quenquam propter oppiparas hasce delicias, vel notatas scrupulosius vel neglectas, stipitem appellem, fungum, bardum, asinum, temerarium, impudentem, aut ineptum; ac multo minùs ut nequam, mastigiam, scelestum, ferum & ferreum, sacrilegum, plagiarium, moechum, vel caprarum ma-

titum, talem nominem. At si scurrilitas exemplis probari posset, sique in rebus tantillis his ipsis vel pejoribus utendum esset Epithetis, non ignoro quàm celebribus etiamnum viventium nominibus factum tueri valerem. An artis ergo tam eximiae est, codices Manuscriptos evolvere, edacem pulverem excutere, maculas a vetustate vel librariis inustas tollere, & variantes inter se conferre lectiones? ut regnum hinc chartaceum, in liberrima literarum republica sibi arrogare quidam & palam affectare debeant? Obliterata & olentia verba e tenebris diligenter eruunt, cessere forsan non infeliciter correctiunculae: sed quàm misella superbiendi causa? quàmque exile eruditionis specimen, in apicibus verborum & interpunctionibus non mediocriter esse versatum? Non minimam itaque aliorum vel proprii temporis particulam, in famosis Criticorum rixis & contentionibus, otiosus profundam; rectè quippe sentientium rationes producere contentus, neque malam ullam neque bonam sum oberantium, nisi admodum rarò, facturum mentionem. Ne meas unquam aut aliorum conjecturas, probis invitis manuscriptis, in Textum audaciùs inveham, sanè quàm diligentissimè cavebo. Hoc esse facinus non magis arrogans quàm ridiculum censeo nec segniùs vitandum quàm aliorum, ut superiùs dixi, importunitas, qui mendosis codicibus omnia emendare volunt. Sed non minùs ferè post Typographiam repertam invalescit quàm antea, quando librarii quicquid proprio palato non satis sapie-

bat, pro lubitu immutare aut delere consueverant. Mirum quantâ licentiâ sibi in hac Sparta adornanda imperitissimi quique indulgebant, quasi futuris Criticis materiam suppeditaturi. Tunc etiam temporis extitit insulsa illa Divinatorum natio, quorum plerique, ut nunc, illotis manibus ad haec sacra accedebant, ac omnia ideo deturparunt, profanarunt, corruerunt. Quae non satis bene intellexerant vel aliis planè verbis, vel perperam adhibitis interpunctionibus, corrigere voluerunt. Omittebant aliquando quae superflua, addebant quae necessaria videbantur. Voces aequipollentes, vel quas tales esse crediderunt, originariis saepe substituebant; & eruditorum glossemata ex margine in Textum invehere, non solis in more fuit Criticis sacris. Quascunque ergo comperero, quave linguae Latinae, quave sententiarum respectu, variantes alicujus momenti lectiones, sedulus eas (uti dixeram) adnotabo; honestâ semper commemoratione omnium promerentium factâ, & suis unicuique inventis aut emendationibus (dummodo tanti sint) adjudicatis, utcunque ab illis alio quopiam pacto dissentiam, quod sine verborum contumelia facere possum. Universis itaque (ut recolligam) lapsibus & hallucinationibus librariorum praetermissis, frivolis & temerariis rejectis conjecturis, muliebribus convitiis & pedaneis vitiligationibus evitatis, ac codicibus manu exaratis (unde varias hauserim lectiones) sine ullis annectis commentatiunculis indicatis; facillimè inferas, angustius istam partem in nostra

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editione spatium occupaturam, etsi multò majorem forsan quàm in ulla alia variarum verarumque lectiōum copiam producturi simus. Locus hic, ut paucula quaedam adjiciam, me admonet. Cùm fuerint ex eruditis, qui, inter alias scribendi rationes, de *stilo Lapidario* non-nihil tradiderint, miror nullos adhucdum extitisse, qui de *stilo Variolectionario* (ut sic dicam) pro rei dignitate commentarentur : nam ab omni alio sermonis genere immensum quantum discrepat ! Sed voluntate pro ratione plerumque redditâ, certè merus Regius stilus est. Concise (ut multi dudum observarunt) abruptè, verbulo, nutu, ex folio effatur Criticus. *Non Latinum* (inquit) *hoc, haud istud placet, verba illa asterisco vel obelo notanda, mutilus hic locus, id demum rectè : refeco haec, deleo, ejicio, jugulo ; sic scribo, sic muto, sic distinguo, sic restituo, & mille similia.* Nec sine causa. Sicut enim inter histriones, qui Regias partes agunt, extra theatrum quoque ferociores aliis & tumidiores reperiuntur ; ita Grammaticos, absolutum in pueros imperium exercere solitos, stilum hunc e quotidiana loquendi consuetudine usurpasse, non vero est absimile. Haec idonea fortassis ratio est, quare contradici sibi tam aegrè & impatienter ferant, ac, ob leviusculam de lana caprina controversiam, non inimicitias solùm implacabiles adversariis denuncient ; sed, strictis semel & felle illitis calamis, omnia sibi, tanquam in vero bello, licere putent. Si claritati autem, quam imaginantur, & celebritati suae vel minimum

detraŕtum iri olfaciunt, tunc contra hoŕtium famam (bene quòd non contra vitam & fortunas poŕſſint) quibuŕſvis arreptiſ armis immaniter graŕſſantur; non juŕtum enim eŕt ampliùſ bellum, ſed furor, lanicna, caedes, incendia, vaŕtationes. Sic ipſi de meriſ quiſquiliſ traŕgicè loqui ſolent. Cùm non ſanguis tamen, ſed atramentum ſit in critico certamine profundendum, pauci admodum ex ſeculi noŕtri pugilibuſ ferulaceam iŕtam maijeŕtatem vel laedere vel imminuere verentur.

XVIII. ART. 8. TAMETSI integras uniuſ, aut plurium editorum, *Notas explicatorias* non mihi in conſiliſ ſit ſubtexere; ad Graevii ſcilicet inſtitutum, qui fuit recentiorum Criticorum facile praŕſtantiſſimus: textuſ nihilominuſ non adeo nuduſ & incomitatuſ prodibit, ac in Victoriſ, Gruteriſ, & Gronovii editionibuſ: omnibuſ enim lociſ hiuſciſ, difficilibuſ, ambiguiſ, vel meritò controverſiſ, breves quidem ſed locupleteſ adjungam Annotationeſ, auctoriſ (uti jam dixi) ritè laudatiſ, quando aliena verba ſunt vel obſervationeſ. Neque heic loci, non ampliùſ quàm in illo Variantium lectionum capite, me moroſorum hominuſ jurgiſ & altercationibuſ admiſcebo. *Aſconiuſ Pedianuſ* & *Anonymuſ Scholiaſteſ*, a Gronovio primùm & Graevio ſuiſ editionibuſ inferri, propriuſ in noŕtra locuſ obtinebunt: atque hic etiam, inter *Notas explicatorias*, addetur Latina verſio omnium Graecarum vocum & ſententiarum, quae tam frequen-

quenter in Cicronis operibus, maximè autem in *Epistolis ad Atticum*, occurrunt. Philosophorum denique neotericorum inventa (quae putantur) & sententias vel hypotheses, cum locis quibusdam nostri Philosophi, ex vetustioribus plerunque citatis, strictè passim conferam. Absit tamen ut hinc inferam Cicronem ab illis expilatum, aut alios antiquos auctores, quos ne legisse quidem ex iis videntur quamplurimi. Ut ad ipsas jam redeamus Annotationes, primùm quaero, cur oram libri interiorum rebus illis onerarem, quae multo dilucidius & magis enucleatè enarrata in ipso leguntur contextu? In Oratione *pro A. Cluentio*, verba haec (47) & sequentia nullà indigent commentatione. *Quid ergo? negasne illud iudicium esse corruptum? non nego; sed ab hoc corruptum non esse confirmo. A quo igitur est corruptum? opinor, primùm, si incertum esset*—& sic idoneis argumentis probare pergit, magis verosimile videri iudicium illud ab Oppianico quàm a Cluentio corruptum. At Franciscus Sylvius haec addenda putavit. *Primùm, , si incertum fuisset] illud a fictione argumentum est. Si incertum fuisset quam sententiam Iudices lataturi essent, verosimilius fuisset iudicium corruptum ab Oppianico, qui timuisset ne condemnaretur; quam à Cluentio, qui veritus esset ne Oppianicus absolveretur: sed quum nemini dubium fuerit, quin Oppianicum, duobus jam praeiudiciis condemnatum, condemnaturi fuissent; certum esse*

(47) Cap. 23.

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debet ab Oppianico de causa diffidente, non a Cluentio bene omnino sperante, corruptum iudicium. Vera haec omnia; sed melius, clarius, brevius, in ipsa leguntur Oratione. Tales notationes quid aliud sunt, nisi supervacanea textus in margine iteratio? ubi tamen superfluum nihil, aut longè pctitum inesse debuit. Sed quomodo aliter fieri poterat, si grànde volumen omnino conficere statuit Sylvius, aut notulas ubique indiscriminatim congerere sui esse officii, ad aliorum instar, existimavit? Nonne utraque forsan ratione inductus, ad haec verba (48) *nemo est enim qui invidiae, sine vestro ac sine talium virorum praesidio, possit resistere,* addit in margine? *Invidia est mala gratia, & malevolentia ex improbo aliquo facinore, aut huiusmodi facinoris suspitione contracta, aut improbi alicujus hominis sermone excitata: quae tantum habet momenti, tantum virium ad opprimendam etiam innocentiam, ut eam viro forti metuendam esse Aristoteles, libro Ethicorum tertio, scribat.* Nihil hic fortassis sine Aristotelis auctoritate intelligeremus. At pudet horum. Talia (si voles) in Ethico aliquo tractatu appositè dici poterant, sed minimè gentium in hoc loco. Omnes ergo morales illi loci communes, qui maximam partem Annotationum in imperfecta Graevii editione absolvunt (ut & aliorum Criticorum, qui in istam congeriem non sunt admissi, centones) ex nostra prorsus sine ulla gra-

tia aut exceptione ejicientur, cùm de legentium captu liberaliùs multò sentiamus. Quàm otiose idem Sylvius ad haec tritissima ejusdem Orationis verba, (49) *pro vestra humanitate*, dixit? *aliquando spargendae sunt laudes Judicum, ut magis fiant benevoli; idque breviter faciendum, nequa suspitio assentationis subrepat*; quasi Rhetoricae praecepta tradere, non Ciceronianos exsolvere nodos teneretur. Ut Sylvium dimittam, non mihi unquam jaçtanter attribuam quae vel ab omnibus ferè, vel ab uno aliquo, ante me observata sunt. Benè quidem (ut solet) observavit Davisius, in nupera *Tusculanarum Disputationum* editione Cantabrigiensi, turpiter errasse Eustathium, qui Pherecydem Syrium Babylonium fuisse finxit; nec minùs hallucinatos esse Augustinum Episcopum Hipponensem & Joannem Tzetzen, qui non Syrum tantùm, sed & Assyrium eum fecerunt. At illud sibi minimè arrogare debuit, quod & ipse, ut alios nunc praeteream, in meis *ad Serenam Epistolis* dudum (50) correxì. *Pherecydes Syrius* (inquit (51) Cicero) *primùm dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos*. Ad hoc rectè animadvertit Davisius in vulgatis pravè Syrum legi, ac, post Auctores de Syro insula natali Pherecydis loco allatos, ovans exclamat, *ut dubium esse nequeat quin veram lectionem reduxerim*; quasi id non fecissent, quos aliàs nominabo, orbi literatorum

(49) Cap. 10.

(50) Ep. 2. n. 5. pag. 28.

(51) Tusc. Disput. lib. 1. c. 16.

universo notissimi Critici. Sed Gruterum hic non emendavit Gronovius. Haec e millibus pauca exempla, eaque breviora, ad codicum aperturam excerpimus. An opus erat Hottomannum, ut plures non addam, Medae nomine in Oratione *pro lege* (52) *Manilia* prolato, veneficae illius historiam ex Ovidio fusiùs recitare? aut cui bono fabulas & fictiones Poeticas in tali opere pueriliter inferere, nisi parùm cognita sit historiola aliqua, aut sit allusio forsan non satis clara? Sed absque notis his Mythologicis, & Ciceronis, vel aliorum scriptorum, locis parallelis sive geminis, qua ratione (uti dixi) magnum librum, qui magnum saepenumero malum est, fabricare possent notarum Architecti? Sic Manutius, sic alii excreverunt. Tales non una in regione novimus, qui scitulè de libris ex mole judicare solent. *Quis ergo (ut cum Rolando Marefio (53) querar) tot notas, tot observationes ferat? quousque tot variis, ac saepe vanis lectionibus omnes librorum margines implebuntur? in his enim parergis magna fit temporis jactura; quibus dum vacat juvenus, & circa voces haeret, res plerumque (quod praecipuum est) non satis attendit: & aliquando e manibus excutiuntur scriptores ipsi, antequam plenè sint perpensi & perlecti. Certè citiùs totum Ciceronem evolvero, quàm decimam partem Notarum & Commentariorum in eum scriptorum. Quid? si tot Critici, dum me-*

(52) Cap. 9.

(53) Lib. I, ep. 17.

dicas manus adferunt, libros, quos sanatos volunt, pejus perdunt? Quapropter consimilibus undequaque corrogatis sententiis, quasque non rarò in alieno loco infulciunt, turgentes pulchrè & intumentes efficiunt paginas. Si justae voluminis spissitudini aliquid deesse videtur, hoc in veterum ritibus prolixè nimis & superstitiosè enucleandis resarcire norunt. Haëtenus Maresius. Plures adhuc ineptissimos Notarum conflandarum modos commemorarem (ut illi communi ferè omnium, sese invicem scilicet ad nauseam usque compilandi & transcribendi, consuetudini non immorer) ne, dum specimen exhibeo, Satyram me in literatos confarcinatores perscribere opineris. Sufficiat igitur, quòd prolixis istis omnis generis praelectionibus ablegatis, notas idoneas, sed verbis quàm paucissimis, locis ubique dubiis aut obscurioribus me adhibiturum iteratâ vice spondeam. Cùm res etiam exiget, *non liquere* ingenuè fatebor. Sed ut caput antecedens cum bello Criticorum, ita hoc, quod prae manibus est, cum pace claudam: plausus illos intelligo perstreptentes, & effusissimas laudes, quas in se sui que similes, sine modo ullo aut pudore congerunt. Adblandiuntur sibi invicem & assentantur, ut paria nempe retrahant elogia, vel majora forsan eliciant: nam illis sese encomiis, propter nugas suas eruditae magnificè exornant; quibus celsissimi Principes & supremi Imperatores, ob res praeclare gestas, decorari solent. Sed, his non satis fastui ipsorum aut ambitioni facientibus, propria sibi

exco-

excogitant praeconia; unus namque Galliae sol est, alius Britanniae sydus, hic est Germaniae ocellus, ille Hollandiae phoenix, & quintus denique salus Musarum atque sal est, flos & elixir literarum. Quòd ornamenta, lumina, senatores sint, ac dictatores Reipublicae literariae, vulgaria haec omnia: Zoilus enim novâ luce literas illustrat, eas nunc solus excolit Bavius & labantes sustentat, in hisce unicus latè regnat Orbilius, & totum sibi devinxit orbem Maevius; talis enim *Marcus*, non *Manius*, uti debuit, hucusque appellatus est, &, *Decimus* ille, non *Decius* erat dicendus. Clarissimi sunt omnes, summi viri, eruditissimi, praestantissimi; immò celeberrimi, etsi nihil unquam scripserint, nec ipsis noti sint vicinis. Sed Titulos hos abjectè passim conferendo vice suâ exorant, & tantum non extorquent. Quamvis hujus generis delinimentis palpum aliis plerique obtrudunt, sibi tamen ex merito contingere nulli dubitant. Sed fricare sese mutuò & demulcere pergant, dum nos ad finem properamus.

XIX. ART. 9. PRAETER Indices quosdam peculiare, *Index rerum & verborum* erit multo quàm hactenus auctior, nec unica inde aberit vox Ciceroniana; quo pacto vicem praebiturus est Indicum, quos *in usum Delphini* vocant, & plures Indices quàm sit necesse, commodissimè antevertet. Caput hoc, ut longior sim, haudquaquam exigit. Hoc tantum adjiciam (nobilissime vir) quòd ultra
novas

novas cujuscunque generis emendandi potiores rationes, & opportunam supervacaneorum & nugatoriorum omnium expulsionem, omnibus insuper nervis contendam, ut quicquid in aliis quibusvis editionibus praestat & praelucet, haec una complectatur. Sed quia in Indicum mentionem incidimus, non ab re erit datâ hac occasione admonere, Indicem locorum maxime insignium in libris apologeticis pro *Religione Christiana* e Cicerone esse conflandum, quod eum commendare haud leviter debet. Graecis quidem Patribus facem praeferebant Euhemerus, Oenomaus, & hujus generis scriptores, qui fabulosos illos, Physicos, & Politicos gentium ligncos & lapideos Deos, omnium ludibrio exponere, ac tot annorum secreta traducere, non sunt veriti nedum religioni habuerunt. Latinis autem Patribus Cypriano, Tertulliano, Minutio, Lactantio, aliisque in eadem acie versantibus, arma simul & sumtus solus ferme exhibuit Cicero, ut ex ipsis eorum operibus, & locis a Commentatoribus indigitatis faciliè perspicuum est. Et Tullius profectò prae cunctis mortalibus Superstitionis malleus dici poterat. Ne modum verò excedere in hac ei laude tribuenda videar, in testem advoco Arnobium omni exceptione majorem. *Adduci enim (54) primum (inquit) hoc ut credamus non possumus, immortalem illam praestantissimamque Naturam divisam esse per sexus; & esse partem unam mares,*

(54) Lib. 3. adversus Gentes.

partem esse alteram foeminas; quem quidem locum plenè jamdudum homines pectoris vivi, tam Romanis literis explicavere, quàm Graecis; & ante omnes TULLIUS Romani disertissimus generis (nullam veritus Impietatis invidiam) ingenuè, constanter, & liberè, quid super tali opinione sentiret pietate cum majore monstravit. A quo si res sumere judicium veritate conscriptas, non verborum luculentias, pergeretis, perorata esset haec causa; nec secundas, ut dicitur, actiones nobis ab infantibus postularet. Sed quid aucupia verborum, splendoremque sermonis, peti ab hoc dicam? cum sciam esse non paucos, qui aversentur & fugiant libros de hoc (ss) ejus, nec in aurem velint admittere lectionem opinionum suarum praesumpta vincentem: cumque alios audiam mussitare indignantes, & dicere, oportere statui per senatum aboleantur ut haec scripta, quibus Christiana Religio comprobetur, & vetustatis opprimatur auctoritas. Quinimo, si fiditis exploratum vos dicere quicquam de Diis vestris, erroris convincite Ciceronem, temeraria & impia dictitare refellitote, redarguite, comprobate: nam intercipere scripta, & publicatam velle submergere lectionem; non est Deos defendere, sed veritatis testimonium timere. Proh hominum inconstantiam! quod hic mussitabant duntaxat & minabantur Ethnici, ipsi postea revera perfe-

(ss) Libros scilicet de Natura Deorum, de Divinatione, & de Fato, qui sunt ejusdem contra superstitionem absoluti operis tres partes.

cerunt Christiani; ut in argumento docebimus libri tertii *de Natura Deorum*. Ante *Indices* (quod paene oblitus eram) collocabitur integer de Cicerone articulus, suis insertis locis Additionibus, ex *Bibliotheca Latina* viri antea laudati, stupendaeque eruditionis, Joannis Alberti Fabricii; qui Editores quotquot haecenus fuerunt ac Commentatores, seu totius operis seu alicujus seorsum partis, summo candore, judicio, & industriâ recensuit. Idem praestitit non in reliquos modò antiquos scriptores Latinos, sed etiam in Graecos: & ejus certè *Bibliotheca Graeca* nullo non pretio digna estimabitur, dum ullus Literis manebit honos.

XX. SED hic te, pro humanitate tua, obtestor atque obsecro (HOHENDORFI) ut neminem ex amicis tuis, quales sunt omnes verè eruditi, tam immaniter errare sinas; quasi Grammaticos nimis protervè, si non iniquè quidem, exagitare gaudeam; & Criticos non increpare duntaxat, sed & vilipendere prorsus videar. Veteris aevi fastidio (inquiet forsàn aliquis) vel nostri inductus contemptu, utriusque aspernatur monumenta Tolandus. Ego certè confiteor, nulla me neque praesentis, neque praeteriti temporis admirari vitia: sed quòd Grammaticos aut Criticos despiciam, id jure merito nego; nec permittam ut ullus homo (quisquis sit) vel ipsi arti, vel iis qui eâ peritè utuntur, me plus unquam tribuat. Quis etenim, nisi Grammatices disciplinâ penitus imbutus, congruè, purè, autè eleganter eloqui possit,

possit, nedum origines linguarum & etymologias tradere? Quis, nisi arte Criticâ pollens, rectè vel propriè, res eligat, aut falsum a vero, sublime ab humili, genuina a spuris discernat? Quis ambigua aperiat, quis enodet perplexa? Quis denique, hisce destitutus adminiculis, APTE, DISTINCTE, ORNATE scribere valeat? quod artis princeps Cicero praecepit, quodque in symbolum mihi (bonis utinam avibus) selegi. Non Artis ergo, sed hominum adnoto defectus: nec omnium sanè, quod longè absit, sed illorum solummodo qui de rebus nihili sunt ineptè gloriosi & qui putamen pro nucleo rodunt; qui vanissimâ scientiae ostentatione tumefacti, in nugis tamen amant consenescere; qui litibus sese aliosque implicare gestiunt, nec facillimè tantum in maledicta erumpunt, sed bajulorum & cerdonum convitia sibi invicem dicunt. Tales olim extitisse, dicaces vitilitigatores, ac etiamnum extare, quis sanus inficias iverit? Sed quis inde paucorum vitia toti ordini affricanda putet, aut omnibus indiscriminatim objiciat, quod in quosdam modò convenit? Hoc esset ejusdem te criminis rerum sistere quod in aliis redarguis, & turpiter in illis errare quae docere profiteris. Ceterum non ista, quam reprehendimus, stili acrimonia, canina facundia, litigandi prurigo, & rerum minutarum amplificatio, ita Grammaticis propria sunt, ut in nullos ex aliis professionibus aequè cadant appositè: ex nullâ siquidem arte peculiariter haec profluunt, cum inter omnium scientiarum

rum cultores reperiantur, qui nullum vel exiguum habeant iudicium; sed a natura & ingenio adveniunt hominum, qui bonos aut malos, rixosos aut pacificos in quovis negotio sese necessario ostendunt. Philosophi non minùs aliquando desipiunt quàm Philologi, nec rariùs Theologi animas hominum quàm Medici corpora perdunt, pravè dictis & factis. An hinc ergo deridendi Theologi omnes, Medici, & Philosophi? vel an ipsa Philosophia, Medicina, & Theologia prohibendae penitus sunt & proscribendae? Quis talia dicere, quod nefas equidem cogitare, iustinuerit? Theologos tamen, exempli gratiâ, novimus, qui dicta quaeque & facta aliter sentientium in sequirem partem trahant; qui nullum unquam, quem sibi constituunt adversarium, nisi depexum bene laceratumque dimittant, qui speciem aliquam suis offuciis non paratiores sint addere, quàm errata ullo pacto agnoscere tardiores; qui propter res levissimas, pias chimeras, & nugas (ut sic dicam) sacerrimas, dissidentes omnes orco religiose tradant. Sed quid hoc ad ipsam Theologiam? Non soli ergo Grammatici in huiusmodi sordibus sese volutant; nec soli quosvis in arenam provocare, & ut quisquis emineat, gradu suo depellere nituntur: non soli Critici superciliose, immo regiè, decidere de omnibus sibi sumunt; nec soli famam aliorum, & labores, calumniis onerare fatagunt. Vides itaque, vel potiùs alii videant (cùm ingenium meum tibi probiùs notum sit) non obtrectandi me, sed

corrigendi studio abreptum, quorundam Grammaticorum naevos ad finem capitis decimi septimi, ut & decimi octavi, liberius annotasse; neminem verò, neque vivum neque mortuum, nomine suo compellasse, eum nemini vel inimicissimo succensam. Non possum hercle non abjectè de quibusdam sentire, & simulator est qui aliqd obtendit: Sed ut animus in ipsos non est exacerbatus, sic nec effrenis erit lingua. Errores eorum (cum opus fuerit) ingenuè patefaciam; iudicio suo aequis relicto lectoribus, qui posthabito, velimus nolimus, partium studio, suum cuique tribuent, quod & alii omnes seriùs ocyùs facturi sunt. Si Criticos, quorum est iudicium habere acre, solidum, insigne, vilipendendos objicerem, propria vineta imprudens caederem, cum Grammaticum in hac Ciceronis editione, & Criticum, ipse pro viribus agam. Duas interea hominum classes facilè animadvertas, illos scilicet qui artis Grammaticae Professoribus, vel eo ipso nomine veram humanitatem & solidam doctrinam denegent; & illos, e contrario, qui omnes, exceptis Criticis Professoribus, a literarum sacris tanquam profanos procul arcent. His videntur primi in alienam messem falcem suam immittere; & illis videntur postremi non res suas peragere. Injusti omnino utrique. Quid in Joanne Georgio Graevio, dum viveret, magis praedicares & admirareris, stupendam ac tantum non infinitam doctrinam, vel modestiam insuper, candorem, aequanimitatem,

tatem, mores cultissimos simul & castissimos? Deus bone, quàm erat sui impertiens! qualis in vultu, in voce hilaritas! quàm amans Libertatis! quantus in sermone lepos, quanta in scriptura gravitas! Grammaticus tamen, Criticus, & Professor nulli secundus. Praestantissimus item vir, & nunquam sine honore nominandus, Ezechiel Spanhemius, nuperus serenissimi Regis Borussorum Legatus extraordinarius, quamvis aulicae vitae & politicae imprimis deditus, non minùs tamen in reconditissimis Criticae mysteriis initiatus & versatus est, quàm ullus unquam Professor, ac a Professoribus ipsis laudes immensas retulit. At quàm longè aberant fastus, acrimonia, adfectatio, invidentia, maledicentia! Dies me deficeret, si plurimos viventes hoc ipso tempore & florentes recenscam, qui tametsi non literarum humaniorum sint Professores, nullis tamen in hisce studiis stipendium merentibus primas cedunt. Quot etiam Professores mihi hodie notissimi, & ad extremum usque habitum venerandi, qui moribus politioribus & omni genere urbanitatis, non minùs Academiis suas, quàm doctrinâ & iudicio, illustrent. Sed nemo e tam multis nomine citandus venit, ne vel gratiam foeda adulatione aucupari, vel reliquos (contra institutum meum) ipso silentio notare videar. At mores quorundam & ingenium coloribus tam vivis expressi, ut eos agnoscere non sit admodum difficile. Verum hoc fortasse. Non mihi tamen in animo fuit ullum seorsum in scenam producere, sed

mente simplicissimâ & verâ fide contra ipsa vitia contendere. Si in alicujus autem offensionem propterea incurri, in promptu est responsio, *Qui capit ille facit*. Alii quidam non tam timendi sunt, quàm ratione quavis negligendi, *quorum mentes* (ut noster (56) loquitur) *angustae, humiles, pravae, oppletae tenebris ac sordibus*, in quibus per me sanè ad lubitum jaceant invidi, invisi, ignavi, inglorii.

XXI. A D te jam me converto, (inclyte Baro) qui non meus duntaxat, sed & ipsarum Literarum es Patronus, ut finem nimirum huic sermoni aliquando faciam. Si pensum hoc suscepisset absolvendum ex tuis doctior aliquis, non magno modò me levaret onere, sed maximâ etiam liberaret invidia. Invisuros autem praevidéo non unius ordinis homines. Praecipuè labores nostros Theonino rodent dente, qui alienae famae & industriae sunt aemulatores, osores, detractores; & qui quicquid arduum aut generosum ab ullo conceptum & tentatum est, imminuere id & in contemtionem adducere totis nituntur viribus. Deinde sunt impatienter laturi nostros conatus, qui vel hoc solo nomine quòd nostri sint, eos vitio & culpae dabunt. His non satisfacimus forsàn quia vivimus. Sed utrorumque malignitas non magis me morabitur, quàm otiosorum severitas, qui maledicere potius quàm

(56) Orat. post redit. in Senatu, c. 4.

nihil dicere in popinis & circulis amant. Reliqua pars hominum, quae major & melior est, sine amore, sine cupiditate, sine odio, sine invidia judicabit. Ut autem me totum liberrimè tibi patefaciam, nihil me incitatiùs impellit ad hanc Ciceronis editionem perficiendam, quàm ut stilus, qui est dicendi opifex, plenissimè mihi limatus & efformatus evadat : is verò est meâ sententia stilus optimus, qui ad id quod decet, omni rerum varietate perpensâ, prudenter accommodatur ; ut magna nempe graviter, ornatè grandia, mediocria temperatè, enucleatè minora dicantur, ac splendidè cùm opus fuerit vel subtiliter. Sed quorsum, inquires, hic de stilorum generibus discursus ? Ut postquam Critica haec & salebrofa expeditè evāsero, ad Historiam condendam, & res pulcherrimas scriptis decorandas, me accingam. *Quis nescit* (ut divinè, sicut omnia, (57) Tullius) *primam esse Historiae legem, nequid falsi dicere audeat, deinde nequid veri non audeat ? nequa suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo, nequa similitatis ?* Sed studium hocce & lux quaedam veritatis nequaquam est sufficiens, cùm Historia sit pariter testis temporum & magistra vitae. Oportet igitur ut rerum & temporum ordo distributè servetur ; ut clarè dicta & tersè conveniant rebus, personis, & locis ; ut causae factorum & eventus proferantur, non recenscantur minuta & inutilia, neque intermiscantur digressiones importunae ; ut non ficta denique pro factis, aut limus (ut dicitur) pro

limpha venditentur, sicuti abundè videre est in Volusianis quibusdam chartis, quae non aliâ quàm Vulcani luce dignae sunt. Ita quidem se res habet, ut omne a me hæctenus scriptum, aut denuo scribendum, velut in transcurso elaboratum velim censeas; huic enim, quicquid egerim, semper intentus sum operi, quo nomina illorum, quos ibi collaudo, in Honoris templo immortalitati consecrarem: quoque reliquos, patriae praesertim proditores, inustos verissimis malefactorum notis, traderem etiam hominum memoriae, hoc est, ignominiae & infamiae sempiternae. Spes est itaque, ut post tot in Ciceronem lucubrationes impensas, Latine saltem, non duodecim Tabulas, loquar: quamvis non Ciceronianorum quorundam exemplo (de quibus in *Dissertatione Historico-Critica*) ita Romani eloquii pomoceria coartare affectem, & intra tam angustos redigere cancellos, ut non ex Senecis, ex Plinio utroque, ex Tacito, ex Quintilianis, ex Suetonio, ex Frontino & Vegetio, ex Aulo Gellio, ex Panegyricis & Rhetoribus antiquis, ac ex aliis aeneae & ferreae aetatis auctoribus (qui aetatibus suis saepe meliores) vocabula desumam a sanioribus Grammaticis recepta. Orationem quasi tessellato opere, Graeca Latinis interspergendo (ut quibusdam usui venit) non solum non contexam; sed dum ea deferbuerit insuper expectabo, ne quid praecox, inconditum, aut inemendatum edam. Nobilissimum mihi constituo argumentum, rerum illam mutationem, & quasi orbem conversum Reipublicae, ab an-

no Aerae Christianae M. DC. LXXX. VIII. ad
 secundi hujus pro Europae libertate belli exitum, sive Pax futura sit stabilis & honesta, sive Bellum Pacis nomine callidè involutum. Causa scribendi principalis est Jacobi Regis ob regnum male administratum (attentatâ supra leges potestate, suppositoque regni haerede) abdicatio & exauctoratio: causa verò finalis est, Regiae successionis in serenissimam familiam Electoralem Hanoveranam (propter avitam nostram conservandam libertatem) legitimè translatae confirmatio & stabilimentum. Hinc cum augustissimis Caesaribus, cum sacro Romano Imperio, cum praepotentibus Batavorum ordinibus, cum aliis itidem Regibus & Rebus publicis, pro aris & focis contra eundem Gallicum tyrannum dimicantibus, foedera non semel sancita, & armorum juncta societas. In hoc Theatro utramque paginam factura est EUGENII gloria, cujus etsi rerum gestarum studio sim incensus, satisfacere etiam MARLBURII laudum immortalitati mirabiliter cupio. Equidem dicam ex animo quod sentiam, & quod tibi saepe jam dixi; si mihi inimicus fuisset MINDELHEMII Princeps, tamen ei, cum tantas res pro publica Libertate contra perpetuum Britanniae nostrae hostem gessisset, gereretque dum licuit quotidie, non amicus esse non possem. *Obstupefcent posteri certè imperia, provincias, Rhenum, Mosam, Danubium, pugnas innumerabiles, incredibiles victorias, monumenta, munera, triumphos ejus audientes & legentes;* in primis cum huic soli e nostratibus

bus non dubitarint foederati credere omnia, & cum unus inter tot annos repertus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant. Talem tantumque Heroa verbis ornandum Ciceronis putavi, ipsius utpote sequutus exemplum, qui profitetur se, in *Commentario de Consulatu suo* inchoando, totum *Isocrati Μυροδνωον*, atque omnes ejus discipulorum arculas, ac nonnihil etiam *Aristotelia pigmenta* (58) consumpsisse. Quis futurus est Anglus ille, qui centum abhinc annis non se popularem esse MARLBURII gloriabitur? ut nos Edoardum tertium & Henricum quintum, Monfortios & Talbotos, sine partium studio nunc jactamus. O praeclarum de illo GUILIELMI Regis gloriosissimi testimonium! *Nemini* (inquit) *mortalium est sedatius cerebellum aut corculum concitatus*; consilium innuens deliberatissimum simul ac fortissimum animum, metaphoris usus in nostra lingua multum usitatis, Nec ego dubito, quin scriis nepotulis, de celebratissimo ejus nomine disquirentibus, respondeant parentes vel magistri, ut Cicero quondam de Trebonio: virum cum fuisse, *qui libertatem populi Anglicani unius amicitiae praeposuit, depulsorque dominatus quam particeps esse maluit*. Hinc ille lachrymae. Sed de eo justis praeconiis efferendo restat in ipso opere campus amplissimus: nec ulli mehercle alii de patria carissima, aut de communi foederatorum causa bene merito,

laudando deerimus. Si vis ergo tandem scire ad quam normam exigenda est Historia nostra, cùm privatis affectibus haudquaquam res metiri solemus, illam nobis suppeditavit in libro primo *de Officiis*, tuus meusque Cicero. Omnino, (59) inquit, *qui Reipublicae praefuturi sunt, duo Platonis praecepta teneant; unum, ut utilitatem civium sic tueantur, ut quaecunque agunt ad eam referant, obliti commodorum suorum: alterum, ut totum corpus Reipublicae curent, ne, dum partem aliquam tuentur, reliquas deserant. Ut enim tutela, sic procuratio Reipublicae ad utilitatem eorum qui commissi sunt, non ad eorum quibus commissa est, gerenda est. Qui autem parti civium consulunt, partem negligunt, rem perniciosissimam in civitatem inducunt, Seditiōnem atque Discordiam: quo evenit ut alii populares, alii studiosi optimi cujusque videantur, pauci universorum. Hinc apud Athenienses magnae discordiae, in nostra Republica non solum seditiōnes, sed pestifera etiam bella civilia: quae gravis & fortis civis, & in Republica dignus principatu, fugiet atque oderit; tradetque se totum Reipublicae, neque opes aut potentiam consecrabitur, totamque eam sic tuebitur, ut omnibus consulat. Nec verò criminibus falsis in odium aut invidiam quemquam vocabit, omninoque ita justitiae honestatique adhaerescet, ut dum ea conservet quamvis graviter offendat; mortemque op-*

petat potius, quàm deferat illa quae dixi. Miserrima est omnino ambitio honorumque contentio, de qua praeclare apud eundem est Platonem: similiter facere eos, qui inter se contenderent uter potius Rempublicam administraret, ac si nautae certarent quis eorum potissimum gubernaret. Cynosuram meam simul aspicias, HOHENDORFI, & Dissertationis finem, Vale,

Dabam 4 Non. Sept. 1712



CON-



CONJECTURA VEROSIMILIS,
DE PRIMA
TYPOGRAPHIAE
INVENTIONE.

Viro nobilissimo, tam antiquâ profapiâ,
quàm multiplici doctrina spectabili,

HUGONI WROTTESLEIO
ARMIGERO,

Hospicii Lincolniensis Socio Dignissimo,
S. P. D.

JOANNES TOLANDUS.



I minùs expectationi, tamen postulationi tuæ, quæ mihi pro imperio est, satis me hodie facturum confido. Locus itaque ad Artem Typographicam quoquomodo spectans, quem tibi dixi a me in CICERONE annotatum, sic se habet in capite

capite vicesimo (sicuti distinxerunt recentiores) libri secundi *de natura Deorum*; ubi BALBUS Stoicus, contra VELLEIUM Epicureum, sequentibus argumentatur verbis. *Hic ego non mirer esse quemquam, qui sibi persuadeat, corpora quaedam solida atque individua vi & gravitate ferri; mundumque effici ornatissimum & pulcherrimum, ex eorum concursione fortuita? Hoc qui existimet fieri potuisse, non intelligo cur non idem putet, si innumerales unius & viginti Formae literarum (vel aureae, vel quales libet) aliquò conjiciantur; posse ex his in terram excussis Annales ENNII, ut deinceps legi possint, effici: quod, nescio, an in uno quidem versu possit tantum valere Fortuna.* Huic argumento neque veri hilum, neque solidi, ab Epicureis reponi poterit: sed alia nunc res agitur.

CONFERAMUS igitur hanc Tullianam pericopen cum usitata Imprimendi ratione, rebus utrinque & verbis breviter expensis. Typi illi, quibus libri ab anno circiter 1445 excuduntur, metallici sunt & fusiles; ex mixtura nimirum plumbi, stanni, & ferri, vel aeris constantes. Vulgò vocantur *Formae literarum*, ex hoc ipso CICERONIS loco captatâ proculdubio nominis occasione. Et quidni exinde (sicut ego quidem suspicor) res ipsa suggeri primum potuisset vel JOANNI GUTTENBERGIO Argentoratensi, vel JOANNI FAUSTO Moguntino, vel LAURENTIO COSTERO Harlemensi; vel, ut uno verbo dicam,

dicam, cuius alii viro sagaci, & experientiorum non incurioso? nam de primo Inventore nihil ego definio, nec litem istam meam facio. Sermo mihi tecum est de prima Idea, quae huic Inventori sese obtulit, quamque è CICERONE haustam perquam probabile arbitror. Multò pressius & clariùs ad rem Typographicam faciunt *innumerabiles* illae omnium Alphabeti *Literarum formae* metallicae, *quales aureae* sunt, vel adhuc cum CICERONE nostro *quales libet* (quasi ligneas insuper innueret) quàm locus ullus, qui ex antiquioribus citari possit, alius.

INTEREA tamen si non ab invicem separatae exhiberentur hae CICERONIANAE Formulae metallicae, more planè hodierno; ego cum nonnullis, inter quos OSORIUS Lusitanus & JOVIUS Italus, potius credidissem Typographiam per PAULUM Venetum, aut alium quemlibet, acceptam a Sinis: quorum tamen imprimendi ratio, ut sanè antiquissima, sic a nostra tota aliena est. Diversitas (inquam) haec, & illae *Formae literarum innumerabiles*, me aliò trahunt; adeo ut Sinarum Patroni re ipsa, quod validissimum est argumenti genus, confutari videantur. Si huiusmodi quidpiam ab iis acceperunt gentes occidentales, illud Chalcographia, non Typographia fuit.

IPSA denique phrasis *imprimendi literas* apud TULLIUM occurrit, in capite decimo tertio libri primi *de Divinatione*. Sed mi-

nimè

nimè timendum est, cum celeberrimo PETRO LESCALOPERIO, ne ex hujusmodi locis adolescentes sibi persuadeant, cognitam fuisse Romanis (1) Typographiam: cùm inde solummodò concludendum sit, uti egomet nunc concludo; nimirum, quod, si hujus inventi suggestio ab ullo antiquorum manaverit, ea CICERONE imprimis tribuenda videatur.

CETERUM, ne Sinas tam subitò dimittam, facile potuissent in eorum imprimeudi modum incidere Europaci, si nullus unquam (quod de nullo mehercle constat) eum in Europam advexisset. Ex usu quippe quotidiano idem aliquibus in mentem venire, non res erat usquequaque insuperabilis neque tam ardua: nam ab omni retrò tempore post literas repertas, *ferro calorato* (ut cum (2) ISIDORO sic loquar) *notas pecoribus inurebant* eorum magistri, quod a (3) COLUMELLA *Characteres signari* vocatur; quae voces, *Notae* scilicet, *Characteres*, & *Signa*, in sermone Typographico jamdudum usurpantur. Longo ante COLUMELLAM & ISIDORUM intervallo, VIRGILIANI (4) Pastores

Continuòque notas & nomina gentis inurunt.

(1) In Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. Sect. 93.

(2) Origin. lib. 20. cap. ult.

(3) De re rustica, lib. 11. cap. 12.

(4) Georg. lib. 3. ver. 158.

Nomi-

Nomina verò, nisi per literas, signari, non video qua ratione fieri possit. Arator, apud eundem (5) VIRGILIUM,

*Aut pecori signum, aut numeros impressit
acervis :*

qui modus imprimendi ex anulis itidem signatoris addisci potuisset; quum, dicente (6) FESTO, *signare significet modò scribere, modò anulo signa imprimere, modò pecora signis notare.* Sed ut verum cum Scholasticis barbarè dicam, *a posse ad esse non valet consequentia*; cujus effati tot extant Demonstrationes, quot sunt Inventiones novae.

VERUM enimverò non omnino a scopo nostro alienus est locus quidam, in PROCOPII *Historia Arcana*, insignis certè & memorabilis; quem hic integrum, e Graeco in Latinum ab ALEMANNO versum, adducere libet. *Tempore deinde procedente* (inquit *αυξάνου* (7) scriptor) *magnam is [JUSTINUS] consequitur potentiam, praetorianis militibus praefectus ab ANASTASIO principe; qui, ubi fato concessit, eà fretus JUSTINUS praefecturà capessivit Imperium, senex jam licet capularis: &, quod Romanis antehac non evenit, adeo literarum expers, &, quod scribitur, Analpha-*

(5) *Ibid. lib. 1. ver. 263.*

(6) *In voce signo.*

(7) *Pag. 28. Edit. Lugd.*

betus,

betus, ut cùm sui soleat nominis apices libellis indere Princeps, cùm quid imperat faciendum; ipse neque imperare, neque compos esse posset rerum gerendarum, sed PROCLUS, qui officio Quaestoris fungebatur, eique assidebat, omnia faceret pro arbitrio. Verùm, ut aliquod Imperatoris manus extaret argumentum, a magistratu, qui id muneris habet, excogitatum hoc est. Tabellae lignae perpolitae formam quatuor literarum, quae legi Latine possint, incidendam curant; eaque libello imposita, calamus (8) colore imbutus, quo scribere mos est Imperatoribus, huic principi tradebatur in manum: quam alii prehensantes ducebant, circumagebantque calamum per quatuor illas literarum formas, nempe singulas tabellae incisuras; atque ita demum, iis ab Imperatore literis reportatis, recedebant.

VIDEAS hîc quatuor literarum formas (nempe I V S T colore aliquomodo) imbutas, vel regendo potiùs calamo idoneas: non impressas tamen chartae, neque chartam iis superinductam aut superimpositam. Quod si & idem hoc factumingas, hodiernam nihilominus imprimendi ideam neque expressisset neque suggessisset. Id liquidò praestant, & ipsi quasi oculis subjiunt (ut satis indicavi superius) CICERONIS formae literarum innume-

(8) Color iste non atramentum, sed purpuramentum fuit; hoc Encaustum Imperatorium ex murice factum vel cinnabari.

rabiles,

rabiles, metallicae, fusiles, mobiles ; quod
conjicere me, non vero affirmare, semper
quaeso memineris. At ne res per se clara
nimiâ luce reddatur obscura, verbum super
hoc argumento non addam amplius. Vale.





DE
GENERE, LOCO,
ET
TEMPORE MORTIS
JORDANI BRUNI
NOLANI.

VIRO ILLUSTRISSIMO
BARONI HOHENDORFIO,
S. P. D.
JOANNES TOLANDUS.



UAE de GASPARIS SCIOPPII ad
CONRADUM RITTERSHUSIUM, de
morte JORDANI BRUNI NOLA-
NI, *Epistola*, à me desideras (vir
illustrissime) sic se habent. Edita
primùm est in libro rarissimo,
cui titulus, *Macchiavellizatio, qua unitorum
animos dissociare nitentibus respondetur, in
gratiam Dn. Archiepiscopi castissimae vitae
Petri Pazman, succinctè excerpta. Sara-*
gossae,

gossae, excudebat Didacus Ibarra, CIO. IOC. XXI. cum licentia Officii SS. Inquisitionis. Liber revera alicubi in Germania excusus est; qua in sententia me confirmavit doctissimus Dominus DE LA CROZE, dum annis abhinc fermè tribus, in Bibliotheca Regia Berolinensi, sermones de BRUNO consereremus. Ad eandem hanc Epistolam provocavit JOANNES HENRICUS URSINUS, citatus a NICODEMO in *Additionibus ad NICOLAI TOPPI Bibliothecam Neapolitanam*: unde summopere miror de NOLANI mortis genere, si non de loco etiam & tempore, subdubitasse incomparabilem BÆLIUM, in *Dictionarii critici ac historici* tomo primo, ubi de JORDANO BRUNO. SCIOPPII Epistola, denuo Jenae recusa est in Fasciculo quinto *Act. literar.* STRUVII, qui descriptum accepit exemplar à viro clarissimo GOTLOB CRANTZIO, apud Uratislavienses professore. Illam & nos, utrisque diligenter antea collatis, sic ritè legendam exhibemus.

CONRADO RITTERSHUSIO suo,
GASPAR SCIOPPIUS Fr.

Salutem.

QUAS ad nuperam tuam expostulatoriam epistolam rescripsi, non jam sanè dubito quin tibi sint redditae; quibus me tibi, de vulgato responso meo satis purgatum confido. Ut verò nunc etiam scriberem hodierna ipsa.

VOL. I.

U

dies

dies me instigat, qua JORDANUS BRUNUS propter haeresin, vivus vidensque, publicè in Campo Florae, ante Theatrum Pompeii, est combustus. Existimo enim & hoc ad extremam impressae Epistolae meae partem, qua de Haereticorum poena egi, pertinere. Si enim nunc Romae esses, ex plerisque omnibus Italis audires *Lutheranum* esse combustum; & ita non mediocriter in opinione tua confirmareris, de saevitia nostra.

AT semel scire debes, mi RITTERSHUSI, Italos nostros inter Haereticos albâ linea non signare neque discernere novisse: sed quicquid est Haereticum, illud Lutheranum esse putant; in qua simplicitate ut Deus illos conservet precor, ne sciant unquam quid Haeresis alia ab aliis discrepet. Vereor enim, ne alioquin ista discernendi scientia nimis caro ipsis constet. Ut autem veritatem ipsam ex me accipias, narro tibi, idque ita esse fidem do testem, nullum prorsus Lutheranum aut Calvinianum, nisi relapsum, vel publicè scandalosum, ullo modo Romae periclitari, nedum ut morte puniatur. Hacc sanctissimi Domini nostri mens est, ut omnibus Lutheranis Romam pateat liber commeatus, utque a Cardinalibus & Praeclatis Curiae nostrae, omnis generis benevolentiam & humanitatem experiantur. Atque utinam hic esses, RITTERSHUSI! scio fore ut rumores vulgares mendacii damnes. Fuit superiorem mense Saxo quidam nobilis hic apud nos, qui annum ipsum domi BEZAE vixerat. Is

multis

multis Catholicis innotuit; ipsi etiam Confessario Pontificis, Cardinali BARONIO, qui cum humanissime excepit, & de Religione nihil prorsus cum eo egit, nisi quòd obiter eum adhortatus est ad veritatem investigandam. De periculo jussit eum fide suâ esse securissimum, dum ne quod publicè scandalum praeberet: ac mansisset nobiscum diutiùs, nisi, sparso rumore de Anglis quibusdam in Palatium Inquisitionis deductis perterritus sibi metuisset. At Angli illi non erant, quòd vulgò ab Italis dicuntur, Lutherani, sed Puritani; & de sacrilega venerabilis sacramenti percussione, Anglis usitatâ, suspecti. Similiter forsân & ipse rumori vulgari crederem BRUNUM istum fuisse ob Lutheranismum combustum, nisi S. Inquisitionis Officio interfuissem, dum sententia contra eum lata est; & sic scirem, quamnam ille Haeresin professus fuerit.

FUIT enim BRUNUS ille patriâ Nolanus, ex regno Neapolitano, professione Dominicanus; qui, cum jam annis abhinc octodecim de Transubstantiatione (rationi nimirum, ut CHRYSOSTOMUS tuus docet, repugnante) dubitare, imo eam prorsus negare, & statim virginitatem B. MARIAE (quam idem CHRYSOSTOMUS omnibus Cherubim & Seraphim puriorem ait) in dubium vocare coepisset, Genavam abiit. Biennium isthic commoratus, tandem quòd Calvinismum per omnia non probaret, inde ejectus Lugdunum, inde Tholosam, hinc Parisios devenit, ibique extraordina-

rium Professoretem egit, cùm videret ordinarios cogi Missae sacro interesse. Postea Londinum profectus libellum isthic edidit *de Bestia triumphante*, hoc est, Papa, quem vestri honoris causâ Bestiam appellare solent. Inde Witebergam abiit, ibique publicè professus est bien-nium, ni fallor. Hinc Pragam delatus, librum edidit *de Immenso & Infinito*, itemque *de Innumerabilibus* (si titulorum sat rectè memini, nam libros ipsos Praga habui) & rursus alium *de Umbris & Ideis*; in quibus horrenda prorsusque absurdissima docet, v. g. Mundos esse innumerabiles; Animam de corpore in corpus, imo & alium in mundum migrare; unam animam bina corpora informare posse; Magiam esse rem bonam & licitam; Spiritum Sanctum esse nihil aliud nisi Animam Mundi, & hoc voluisse MOYSEN dum scribit eum fovisse aquas; Mundum esse ab aeterno; MOYSEN miracula sua per magiam operatum esse, in qua plus profecerat quàm reliqui Aegyptii; eum leges suas confinxisse; sacras literas esse somnium; Diabolos salvatum iri; solos Hebraeos ab ADAMO & EVA originem ducere, reliquos ab iis duobus, quos Deus pridie fecerat; CHRISTUM non esse Deum, sed fuisse Magum insignem, & hominibus illusisse, ac propterea meritò suspensum (Italicè *impiccato* non crucifixum esse; Prophetas & Apostolos fuisse homines nequam, Magos, & plerosque suspensos. Denique infinitum foret omnia ejus portenta recensere, quae ipse & libris & vivâ voce asseruit. Uno verbo ut dicam, quic-

quicquid unquam ab Ethnicorum Philosophis, vel a nostris antiquis & recentioribus Haereticis est assertum, id omne ipse propugnavit.

P R A G A Brunsvigam & Helmstadium per-
venit, & ibi aliquamdiu professus dicitur.
Inde Francofurtum, librum editurus, adiit:
tandemque Venetiis in Inquisitionis manus
pervenit, ubi, diu satis cùm fuisset, Romam
missus est, & saepiùs a S. Officio, quod vocant
Inquisitionis, examinatus, & a summis Theolo-
gis convictus, modò quadraginta dies obtinuit,
quibus deliberaret, modò promisit palinodiam,
modò denuo suas nugas defendit, modò alias
quadraginta dies impetravit. Sed tandem ni-
hil egit aliud, nisi ut Pontificem & Inquisitio-
nem deluderet. Ferè igitur biennio postquam
hic in Inquisitionem devenit, nuperâ die nona
Februarii, in supremi Inquisitoris Palatio, prae-
sentibus illustrissimis Cardinalibus S. Officii
Inquisitionis (qui & senio, & rerum usu, &
Theologiae Jurisque scientiâ reliquis praestant)
& consultoribus Theologis & seculari Magi-
stratu, Urbis Gubernatore, fuit BRUNUS ille
in locum Inquisitionis introductus, ibique, ge-
nibus flexis, sententiam contra se pronunciari
audiit. Ea autem fuit hujusmodi: narrata
fuit ejus vita, studia & dogmata, & qualem
Inquisitio diligentiam in convertendo illo, &
fraternè monendo, adhibuerit, qualemque ille
pertinaciam, & impietatem, ostenderit: inde
eum degradarunt, ut dicimus, prorsusque ex-
communicarunt, & seculari Magistratui tra-

diderunt puniendum; rogantes, ut quàm clementissimè, & sine sanguinis profusione, puniretur. Haec cùm ita essent peracta, nihil ille respondit aliud, nisi minitabundus, *maiorē forsan cum timore sententiam in me fertis, quàm ego accipiam.* Sic a lictoribus Gubernatoris in carcerem deductus, ibique octiduo asservatus fuit, si vel nunc errores suos revocare vellet. Sed frustra. Hodie igitur ad rogam sive pyram deductus, cum salvatoris crucifixi imago ei jamjam morituro ostenderetur, torvo eam vultu aspernatus rejecit: sicque ustulatus miserè periit; renunciaturus, credo, in reliquis illis, quos finxit Mundis, quoniam pacto homines blasphemi & impii a Romanis tractari soleant.

HIC itaque, mi RITTERSHUSI, modus est, quo contra homines, imo monstra hujus modi, procedi a nobis solet. Scire nunc ex te studeam, isne modus tibi probetur? an verò velis licere unicuique quidvis & credere & profiteri? Equidem existimo te non posse eum non probare. Sed illud addendum fortè putabis: *Lutheranos talia non docere neque credere, ac proinde aliter tractandos esse.* Assentimur ergo tibi, & nullum prorsus Lutheranium comburimus. Sed de ipso vestro LUTHERO aliam fortasse rationem iniremus. Quid enim dices, RITTERSHUSI, si asseram & probare tibi possem, LUTHERUM non eadem quidem, quae BRUNUS, sed vel absurdiora magisque horrenda, non dico in *Convivialibus*, sed

sed in iis quos vivus edidit libris, tanquam sententias, dogmata, & oracula, docuisse? Quid? tu hoc non credis? Mone quaeso, si nondum satis novisti cum, qui veritatem tot seculis sepultam nobis eruit; & faciam ipsa tibi loca, in quibus succum quinti illius Evangelii deprehendas, quamvis isthic anatomiam LUTHERI a PISTORIO habere possitis. Nunc si & LUTHERUS, BRUNUS est, quid de eo fieri debere censes? nimirum tardipedi Deo dandum, infelicibus ustulandum lignis. Quid illis postea, qui eum pro Evangelista, Propheta, tertio ELIA habent? Hoc tibi cogitandum potius relinquo. Tantum ut hoc mihi credas, Romanos non eâ severitate erga Haereticos experiri, qua creduntur; & qua debebant fortè erga illos, qui scientes volentes pereunt. Sed de his satis. *Romæ 17, Februar. 1600.*

HUCUSQUE SCIOPIUS. Alia quaedam ad RITTERSHUSIUM perscripta subsequuntur, sed quae nihil certè ad BRUNUM.

BRUNIANI supplicii hic habemus non auritum modò, sed magis adhuc credibilem testem, oculatum nempe, GASPAREM SCIOPIUM; qui Inquisitoribus, dum BRUNUS interrogaretur, aderat; quique eundem postea in Campo Florae igni devorandum, ab urbis Praefacto traditum, viderat.

A JORDANI ergo morte nullae sunt vires Pyrrhonismo Historico accessurae. Hoc unum tamen inde discendum; nullius scilicet mortalium auctoritati, sine debitis allatis probationibus, confidendum, cum ipsissimus BAEIUS in errorem ducat. Eo ipso, inquires, magis magisque apparet incertitudo Historica; neque BAEIUS omni probatione destitutus videtur, cum scribat NICODEMUM, in *Additionibus* jam memoratis ad *Bibliothecam Neapolitanam*, affirmasse, non omnia, quae ab URSINO ex SCIOPII Epistola allegantur, esse vera. At ibi de BRUNI morte non loquitur NICODEMUS, sed de variis sententiis ipsi ab Inquisitoribus & SCIOPIO malâ fide imputatis; ac certo certius est, ista non esse verâ omnia, neque verisimilia, quod & ex scriptis ejus clarissimè liquet, & ex ipsa quidem sententiarum repugnantia. Solenne hoc est Inquisitoribus, & nunquam non usurpatum, illos, quos perdere gestiunt, foedè prius denigrare; ut plerisque animi & corporis viriis contaminati, nullius misericordiâ, sed omnium potius averfatione, digni censeantur. Quo pacto enimvero Daemonum salutem (exempli gratiâ) propugnare posset BRUNUS, ut olim fecerat ORIGENES, si sacras literas pro somniis duxisset? aut, rejectis scripturis, quinam omnino de Diabolis, vel aeterna salute, sermo ipsi esset instituendus? Vidcrint haec S. Officii Patres. Certè per *Magiam* in scriptis suis nihil aliud unquam intellexit, praeter reconditiorem &

non

non vulgarem, quamvis maximè naturalem, sapientiam. Sic aeternam formarum materialium vicissitudinem, *Transmigrationem* quandoque appellat; quo sensu ista apud eum vox semper occurrit. Ex his de aliis esto Judicium.

SCIOPPIUM verò mentem ejus non ubique assecutum esse, vel inde constat, quod libellum *de Bestia Triumphante* ad Papam referat; cum de Papa ibi nulla facta sit mentio, & Bestia haec sit multifaria Superstitio, quae credulis (ut vult) hominibus, omni loco & tempore, latè dominatur. Nec accuratiùs distinxit SCIOPPIUS ea quae aliis personis, pro uniuscujusque propria sententia, vicissim attribuuntur, ab iis quae ipse in medium adducit & tuetur BRUNUS; quod, ad Dialogorum leges, rei caput semper censeretur debet.

NE quid tamen dissimulem, rerum Universalitatem ex sola credidit constituisse materia, & stricto quidem sensu unam esse & infinitam; ac Globos idcirco sive Terras, vel Planetas potius & Mundos, in immenso aetheris expanso circa Soles suos, vel Stellas fixas, rotari indefinenter & innumerabiles. Ex iis etiam non paucos, si non omnes, Lunis suis, seu (uti jam loquimur) Satellitibus, comitari asseruit. Quae de Anima mundi in libro Italico *de infinito, universo, & mundis*, aequivoce differit, cave ne cum Platoniorum sententia confundas: cum spiritum nullum a materiae

com-

compagè distinctum intelligat, sed subtiliorem tantum ac mobiliorem materiae partem, mechanicè agentem; ut ex attenta patebit lectione istorum Dialogorum, in quibus luculenter profectò & eruditè doctrinam hanc *de mundorum pluralitate*, demonstrat. Veruntamen non is sum, ut FONTENELLUM hic, vel potius CARTESIUM, plagii incusem, etsi multorum suspiciones expertus sit posterior. De unitate autem rerum indivisibili, & infinita Universi extensione, videatur alter BRUNI libellus Italicus, *de causa, principio, & uno*; ubi omne, quod existit, prorsus esse materiale, contendit.

UT obiter dicam, diffusus valde, si non verbosus, ac nimium ingenio suo indulgens, in cunctis suis scriptis videtur. Mundos etiam suos (quòd penè oblitus sum) haud aeternos, quoad praesentem formam & structuram, statuit, quod planè absurdum est: cum nihil medium dari possit inter praestantissimam quandam Intelligentiam, quae materiam omnem dirigat ac informet; & aeternam rerum omnium existentiam ac dispositionem, eo ipso modo quo jam nunc conspiciendae veniunt. Non Musca, nedum Mundus, casu effici potest; quod adversus quoscunque Epicureos, etsi mediocritatis meae conscius, in me demonstraturum suscipio. Nec res contra Platonicos difficiliùs confici poterit; nam uti quod nunquam incepit, nunquam est finem habiturum, sic omne quod

factum est infectum iri confido: vel aeternus ergo est mundus & incorruptibilis, vel creatus aliquando & periturus.

SED hoc non agitur, ut BRUNI opiniones vel approbem vel refellam. Tempus, locum, & genus mortis ipsius extra omnem dubitationis aleam constitui; quod si tibi (lectissime vir) satis bene & breviter peractum censebitur, tam gratum mihi id erit, quàm quod gratissimum. *Attamen*, ut cum CICERONE meo loquar, *quid tibi ego in Epistolis videor? nonne plebeio sermone agere tecum? sed Epistolas*, ut idem subjungit, *quotidianis verbis texere solemus*. Quod reliquum est, percipio ut valeas; meque tibi, meaue omnia, vehementer commendo. *Dat. Amstelod. 1709.*





A N
A C C O U N T
O F
JORDANO BRUNO's BOOK

*Of the infinite Universe and innumerable
Worlds: In five Dialogues:*

Written by himself in a Dedication of the
said Book to the Lord CASTELNAU, Am-
bassador from the French King to Queen
ELIZABETH.

*Translated from the Original Italian, printed in the
Year 1514.*

A Prefatory DEDICATION

*To the most illustrious Lord, MICHAEL
de CASTELNAU, Lord of Mauvissier,
Concreffault, and Joinville; Knight of the
Order of his most Christian Majesty, one of
the Members of his Privy Council, Captain
of fifty Men at Arms; and Ambassador
to the most serene Queen of England.*



IF I had held the plow, MOST IL-
LUSTRIOUS LORD, or fed a
flock, or cultivated a garden, or
mended old cloaths, none wou'd di-
stinguish, and few wou'd regard me; fewer
yet

yet wou'd reprehend me, and I might easily become agreeable to every body. But now for describing the field of Nature, for being sollicitous about the pasture of the Soul, for being curious about the improvement of the Understanding, and for showing some skill about the faculties of the Mind: one man, as if I had an eye to himself, does menace me; another, for being onely observ'd, does assault me; for coming near this man, he bites me; and, for laying hold of that other, he devours me. 'Tis not one who treats me in this manner, nor are they a few; they are many, and almost all.

IF you wou'd know whence this does proceed, MY LORD, the true reason is; that I am displeased with the bulk of mankind, I hate the vulgar rout, I despise the authority of the multitude, and am enamor'd of one particular Lady. 'Tis for her that I am free in servitude, content in pain, rich in necessity, and alive in death; and therefore 'tis likewise for her that I envy not those who are slaves in the midst of liberty, who suffer pain in their enjoyment of pleasure, who are poor tho o'erflowing with riches, and dead when they are reputed to live: for in their body they have the chain that pinches them, in their mind the hell that overwhelms them, in their soul the error that makes them sick, and in their judgment the lethargy that kills them; having neither generosity to undertake,

nor

nor perseverance to succeed, no splendor to illustrate their works, nor learning to perpetuate their names. Hence it is, even from my passion for this beauty, that as being weary I draw not back my feet from the difficult road, nor, as being lazy, hang down my hands from the work that is before me: I turn not my shoulders, as grown desperate, to the enemy that contends with me; nor, as dazl'd, divert my eyes from the divine object.

IN the mean time, I know my self to be for the most part accounted a sophister, more desirous to appear subtil, than to be really solid; an ambitious fellow, that studies rather to set up a new and false sect, than to confirm the ancient and true doctrine; a deceiver, that aims at purchasing brightness to his own fame, by engaging others in the darkness of error; a restless spirit, that overturns the edifice of sound discipline, and makes himself a founder to some hut of perversity. But, MY LORD, so may all the holy Deities deliver me from those that unjustly hate me, so may my own God be ever propitious to me, so may the Governors of this our globe show me their favor, so may the stars furnish me with such a seed for the field and with such a field for the seed; that the world may reap the useful and glorious fruit of my labor, by awakening the genius and opening the understanding of such as are depriv'd of light: so

so may all these things happen, I say, as it is most certain that I neither fain nor pretend. If I err, I am far from thinking that I do so; and whether I speak or write, I dispute not for the mere love of victory (for I look upon all reputation and conquest to be hateful to God, to be most vile and dishonorable, without Truth) but 'tis for the love of true WISDOM, and by the studious admiration of this mistress, that I fatigue, that I disquiet, that I torment my self.

THIS will be made evident by the demonstrative arguments I offer, drawn from lively reasons; as these are deriv'd from regulated sense, which is inform'd by positive Ideas, that like so many ambassadresses are sent abroad from the subjects of nature: being obvious to those that seek for them, clear to those that conceive them, distinct to those that consider them, and certain to those that comprehend them. But 'tis time that I present you, MY LORD, with my Contemplations about *the infinite Universe and innumerable Worlds*.

The Argument of the first Dialogue.

IN this Dialogue then you'll find, first, that the inconstancy of our Senses shows they are not the principle of Certitude; which is onely acquir'd by a kind of comparison, or by conferring one sensible object, or one sense with

with another: and so it is concluded that the same Truth may be in different subjects, as in the sensible object and in the understanding, as well as how this can be.

SECONDLY, you come to the beginning of the Demonstration for the infinity of the Universe, whereof the first argument alledg'd is; that those who by their imaginations wou'd set walls or bounds to it, are not able themselves to assign or fix the extremities of it.

THIRDLY, you'll perceive the absurdity of saying, that the World is finite, and that it is in it self: from which notion of *being in it self* (which agrees only to what is immense) is taken the second argument for the infinity of the Universe.

THE third argument is taken from so inconvenient and impossible an imagination, as to say, that the world is no where; whence it wou'd unavoidably follow, that it has no existence: for every thing whatsoever, be it corporeal or incorporeal, must be corporeally or incorporeally in some place.

THE fourth argument is taken from this demonstration, or very urgent objection propos'd by the Epicureans:

Ni-

*Nimirum, si jam finitum constituatur
Omne quod est spatium, si quis procurrat
ad oras*

*Ultimus extremas, jaciatque volatile telum;
Invalidis utrum contortum viribus ire
Quò fuerit missum mavis longeque volare,
An prohibere aliquid censes obstareque posse?
Nam sive est aliquid quod prohibet officiat-
que,*

*Quò minus quò missum est veniat, finique
locet se,
Sive foras fertur, non est ea fini profecto.*

THE fifth argument is, that the Definition of Place given by ARISTOTLE (the superficies of the circumambient body) does not agree to the first, the greatest, and most common of all places; and that it cannot take in the next and immediate surface to the body contain'd, with other such slight observations that make Place to be a mathematical and not a physical thing: for between the superficies of the body containing, and the superficies of the body contain'd (which is mov'd within the same) there is always necessarily an intermediate space, which according to this Definition ought rather to be reckon'd the place; and if of this space we wou'd only take the superficies, we must then (as you shall see) in an infinite look for a finite place.

THE topic of the sixth argument is, that by making the World finite, a vacuum cannot be avoided, if that be void where there is nothing; tho we shall evince this void to be impossible.

THE seventh is, that as the Space wherein this World or Universe exists, wou'd be understood to be void, if the world had not been in it; so that space must needs be void, where this world is not. Had it not been for the World therefore, this space wou'd be indifferent from that, and the one has the same aptitude with the other; whence it will follow, that it has also the same actualness; since no aptitude is eternal without an actual occupation, and so it has the act eternally join'd to its passiveness, and is it self the very act; because actual and possible existence are not different in eternity.

THE eighth argument is, that none of the Senses excludes infinity, since we cannot deny it, merely because not comprehended by any of our senses; but rather assert it, because by it the senses are comprehended, and reason comes to their help to confirm it: nay, if we further consider, our senses do ever suppose infinity, since we always see one thing terminated by another thing; and that we never perceiv'd any thing by internal or external sense, that was not terminated by a thing,
either

either like it self, or by some other thing different from it self.

*Ante oculos etenim rem res finire videtur.
Aer dissepit colles, atque aera montes,
Terra mare, & contrà mare terras terminat
omnes*

*Omne quidem: verò nihil est quod finiat
extra,*

*Usque adeo passim patet ingens copia rebus,
Finibus exemptis in cunctas undique partes.*

EVEN by what we see then, we ought rather to infer infinity than otherwise; because nothing occurs in nature that is not terminated by another, and no one thing whatsoever is terminated by it self.

THE ninth argument is taken from hence, that infinite Space can be only deny'd in words, as those who are pertinacious use to do; considering that such parts of space where the world is not, and which are accounted nothing, cannot be conceived without an aptitude to contain, no less than that part which does actually contain.

THE tenth from hence, that if the existence of this our World be good or convenient, it is no less good or convenient that there be infinite others like it.

THE eleventh, that the goodness of this World is not possibly communicable to any other world, as my being is not communicable to this or that other man: the force of this argument you'll see in its place.

THE twelfth, that there is no reason or sense that supposes an individual, most simple, and complicating infinite, but may admit of a corporeal and explicated infinite.

THE thirteenth, that this Space which to us appears so great, is neither a part nor the whole with respect to infinity; nor can it be the subject of an infinite operation, to which what cannot be comprehended by our imbecillity is as a non-entity. And here an answer is given to a certain objection; for we say, that we do not assert infinity for the dignity of mere space, but for that of nature: since by whatever reason, this space or atmosphere of ours exists, by the same reason ought the space of every other globe to be, that can exist; and whose power is not actuated by ours, as the power of the being of *ELPINUS*, is not actuated by the actual being of *FRACASTORIUS*.

THE fourteenth argument is taken from this, that if infinite active power actuates a corporeal and dimensional being, this being must be necessarily infinite; otherwise you
dero-

derogate from the nature and dignity of that which can make, and of that which can be made.

THE fifteenth, that this Universe, conceiv'd in the vulgar sense, cannot be otherwise said to comprehend the perfection of all things, than as I comprehend the perfection of all my Members, and as every globe whatever is contain'd in it self; just as we say, that the man is rich, who wants nothing of what he has.

THE sixteenth, that the infinite efficient cause wou'd be absolutely defective, without an infinite effect; and yet that we cannot conceive this effect to be purely the cause it self: to which we add, that if yet it was or is so, nothing however is taken away of that which ought to be in the true effect; whence the Divines have coin'd such expressions as God's action *ad extra*, or his transient as well as his emanent acts, for thus the one becomes as infinite as the other.

THE seventeenth, that as by conceiving the infinity of the Universe the understanding rests fully satisfy'd; so by asserting the contrary, it is unavoidably plung'd into innumerable difficulties and inconveniencies: besides that in this place is occasionally repeated what was said in the second and third arguments,

THE eighteenth, that if the World be spherical, it is likewise figured and bounded; and consequently, that whatever space is beyond it (tho you may please to call it nothing) is no less figured, its concavity being necessarily join'd to the convexity of the world; for just where your nothing begins, there must needs be a concavity different from the convexitudinal superficies of this world.

THE nineteenth argument, is only some addition to what has been said in the second.

THE twentieth, is an occasional repetition of what is said in the tenth.

IN the second Part of this Dialogue, that which is already demonstrated by the passive power of the Universe, is likewise demonstrated by the active power of the efficient cause, and this by several arguments.

THE first is taken from hence, that the divine efficacy cannot stand idle; especially granting it any effects distinct from its proper substance (if indeed any thing can be distinct from it) and that it must be no less idle and invidious in producing a finite effect, than in producing none at all.

THE second argument is taken from humane practice, because by the contrary opinion

on is abolish'd the reason of the goodness and greatness of God ; whereas it is shown, that no inconvenience follows upon ours to any system of Laws or Divinity whatsoever.

THE third argument is convertible with the twelfth of the first part : and the difference is declar'd between the infinite whole, and what is wholly infinite.

THE fourth argument is, that omnipotence in making the World finite, is no less blameable for not being willing, than for not being able to make it otherwise ; and also, for being an infinite agent upon a finite subject.

THE fifth enters into the particulars of this, and shows, that if God does not make the World infinite, he cannot make it so ; and that if he has not power to make it infinite, he has not strength to preserve it infinitely : nay that if he is finite in one respect, he must be so in every respect ; because in him every mode is a thing, and every particular mode and thing is the self same in him with every other mode or thing. The diversity consists in our different ways of conceiving him.

THE sixth argument is convertible with the tenth of the first part : and the cause is shown why Divines, not without expedient reason, maintain the contrary ; with a word concerning the friendship that ought to be

cultivated between them and the truly learned Philosophers.

THE seventh argument proposes the distinction, between the oneness of the active power and the diversity of actions, giving the true solution of the same: besides, that infinite power acting intensively and extensively, is more profoundly consider'd, than has been ever hitherto done by the body of Divines.

THE eighth argument shows, that the motion of infinite Worlds is not from an external mover, but is intrinsically in themselves, and yet that there is an infinite mover too.

THE ninth shows, that infinite motion is intensively verify'd in each of these Worlds; to which may be added, that from the consideration of a moveable thing being at one and the same time put in motion, and yet moving of it self, it follows, that it may at one and the same time be in every point of the circle it describes about its own centre: but another time we shall resolve this difficulty, when we have leisure to give a more diffusive plan of our Doctrine.

The Argument of the second Dialogue.

THE same Subject is pursu'd in the second Dialogue, where, in the first place, four arguments are produc'd, whereof the first

first is, that all the Attributes of the Divinity are as any one of them. The second, that our Imagination cannot possibly be thought to extend beyond the Divine Activity. The third is taken from the indifference of the Divine Intellect and Action, and that infinite is not less understood than finite. The fourth is built upon this, that if corporeal quality (I mean that which is sensible to us) has an infinite active power, what we are to think of all the qualities that are in all the absolutely active and passive power of the universe.

THIS Dialogue shows, in the second place, that a corporeal thing cannot be terminated by an incorporeal thing, but either by a vacuum or a plenum; and that there is most certainly beyond our world a space that is no void, but mere matter, which is what is called the passive Power or Expanse, and wherein the neither envious nor idle Divine Power must needs exert itself by action. Here is expos'd the vanity of ARISTOTLE's argument, drawn from the impossibility of dimensions.

IN the third place is shown, the difference between these expressions *the World* and *the Universe*; for whoever says the Universe is one and infinite, and that there are many Worlds, must necessarily distinguish between these two words.

IN the fourth place are alledg'd the contrary reasons, whereby the Universe has been judg'd to be finite; where ELPINUS repeats all the Arguments of ARISTOTLE, and PHILOTHEUS particularly examines them. Of these some are taken from the nature of simple bodies, some from the nature of compound bodies: and the vanity of six of ARISTOTLE's arguments is demonstrated, which are urg'd by him from the definition of such motions as cannot be in infinity, and from such other propositions, as are without all foundation, and are but mere begging of the question. This may be clearly seen by our arguments, which more naturally show the reason of the differences and determinations of motion, and (as far as the place and occasion permits) explain the more real knowledge of the impulse of Gravity and Levity: for there we show that infinite body can neither be heavy nor light, and how it is, that finite body receives such differences, and also in what cases it does not. Then again the vanity of ARISTOTLE's reasonings is made apparent, who, when he argues against them who hold the Universe to be infinite, supposes a centre and a circumference (the very thing deny'd him) and, whether the world be finite or infinite, will needs have the Earth to be in the midst of it. In fine, there's no reason great or small produced by this Philosopher to destroy the infinity of the World, either in his

first

first book *de Coelo & Mundo*, or in his third book *de Physica auscultatione*, but is discuss'd much more than sufficiently.

The Argument of the third Dialogue.

IN the third Dialogue, first is deny'd that pitiful fancy of the figure of the Spheres, and the number or diversity of the Heavens; as it is on the contrary affirm'd, that the Heaven is but one, being the general space which contains infinite Worlds: yet we deny not but there may be an infinite number of Heavens, taking this word in another signification; for as this Earth has its heaven, which is that region of space wherein it moves and performs its course, so has every one of the other innumerable Worlds. Then is shown, what occasion'd the imagination of so many and so great moveable orbs, figurated so as to have two external surfaces and one internal concavity; with such other receipts and pills as cause nauseousness and stupor, as well in those that prescribe, as in those that swallow them.

SECONDLY is shown, that the general motion, and that of the eccentrical orbs, and as many other motions as are or can be ascrib'd to the said firmament, are all chimerical; and that they are nothing else but the motion of the Earth upon its own centre thro' the ecliptick, together with four particular

cular differences or determinations of this same motion : whence it follows, that the proper motion of every star is taken from the difference which can be subjectively verify'd in the same, as it moves of itself in the spacious field of Ether. This consideration will convince us, that all the arguments for an infinite moveable and an infinite motion, are vain ; and purely founded on their ignorance of the motion of our globe.

THIRDLY, it is made plain, that every Star has its motion like this of our earth, and like those others whose vicinity makes us sensibly distinguish the particular differences of their local motions : but yet that the Suns, which are bodies wherein fire is predominant, move otherwise (that is upon their own centres) than the Earths, wherein water is predominant ; and thence also is manifested, whence the Light proceeds that is diffus'd by the stars, of which some have this light in themselves, and some have it onely by reflection from others.

FOURTHLY, is shown, how bodies the most distant from the Sun, can participate of heat equally with those that are nearest it : then is confuted the opinion attributed to EPICURUS, that one Sun was sufficient for the whole universe ; and the true difference is stated, between those Stars that twinkle, and those that do not.

FIFTHLY, is examin'd the opinion of CUSANUS about the matter and habitableness of the Worlds, and about the reason of light.

SIXTHLY, how that, tho some of those bodies have light and heat of themselves, yet for all this the sun does not shine to the sun, as neither the earth nor the sea to themselves; but light always proceeds from the opposite star, as we sensibly see the brightness of the whole sea from some eminence or mountain, but being in this same sea or in a field, we see no more of it bright, than as far as the light of the opposite sun or moon reflects upon it within some very small dimension.

SEVENTHLY is expos'd the foolery of the Peripatetic *quinta essentia*, or fifth element, not changeable as the other four: and then 'tis demonstrated, that all sensible bodies whatsoever are of no other nature than those of this earth; nor consisting of any other principles or elements, and that they move no otherwise either in a straight line or in a circle. All the arguments throughout are accommodated to the meanest capacity, as FRACASTORIUS, a learned man, accommodates himself to the understanding of BURCHIUS, next to an idiot: and 'tis made evident beyond contradiction, that no change or accident happens here, but the same may be suppos'd to happen there, as there is nothing
seen

seen from hence there, but (if we consider aright) the same may be seen from thence here; and consequently that the vulgarly admir'd order and scale of nature, is onely a pleasing dream, or rather the jargon of old doating women.

EIGHTHLY, that however true may be the distinction of elements, yet that the vulgar order of elements is neither sensible nor intelligible: and, even according to ARISTOTLE himself, the four elements are equally parts or members of this Globe, if we do not rather make water predominant; whence the stars are properly call'd sometimes water and sometimes fire, as well by the true natural Philosophers, as by Prophets, Divines, and Poets, who in this point did neither vend fables nor metaphors, but left those other clumsy Sophisters to fabulize and grow children at their pleasure. Thus the Worlds are understood to be those heterogeneous bodies, those animals, those huge globes, wherein the earth is no more heavy than the other elements; and whereof all the parts and particles are mov'd, and change place and disposition, no otherwise than as the blood, humors, spirits, and insensible particles, which perpetually flow in and out in us, and in the other lesser animals. On this occasion a comparison is made of the Elements, whereby it is found that the Earth, by its impulse towards the center of its own bulk, is not heavier than

than any other simple body that's an ingredient in the composition of the same; and that the earth of itself is neither heavy nor light, neither ascends nor descends, but that it is water that causes the cohesion, density, spissitude, and gravity thereof.

NINTHLY, the famous order of the elements being thus exploded, next comes the true account of those sensible compounded bodies, which are, as so many animals or worlds, in this spacious field call'd Air, or sky, or commonly vacuum; wherein, I say, are all those worlds, which contain animals and inhabitants no less than ours, since they are neither inferior in aptitude or capacity, nor many other requisite qualities.

TENTHLY, after showing the manner of disputation us'd by those who are pertinaciously addicted to their opinions, and by those other ignorant fots of a deprav'd disposition, 'tis further declar'd how passionately they are for the most part wont to conclude their disputes; tho there be others so circumspect, that, without being in the least put out of countenance, they strive to make the auditors believe by a leer, a smile, a shrug, or a certain modest malignity, what they are never able to prove by reasons. With these petty artifices of courteous contempt, they wou'd not onely cover their own ignorance, tho open to all the world besides, but farther

load

load their adversaries with it : for they come not to dispute in order either to find, or indeed to seek the Truth, but for obtaining the victory, and to appear more learned, or to be counted more strenuous champions of the contrary side ; whence these and the like ought to be avoided by every man, that has not put on a good cuirasse of patience.

The Argument of the fourth Dialogue.

IN the following Dialogue, first, a short repetition is made of what has been said elsewhere, viz. how the Worlds are in number infinite, how each of them is mov'd, and is form'd. Secondly, the like transient repetition is made of the answers which, in the second Dialogue, were given to the arguments against the infinite extension or greatness of the Universe. Now, since the immense effect of immense activity and power has been prov'd by many reasons in the first Dialogue ; and that, in the third Dialogue, is prov'd the infinite multitude of worlds : we do, in this fourth, resolve the numerous difficulties of ARISTOTLE against the same ; tho this expression *World* is taken in a different sense by ARISTOTLE, from what it is by DEMOCRITUS, EPICURUS, and others. He therefore from natural and forc'd motion, and from the reasons he has invented for both these, would infer that one earth must necessarily move towards another, supposing there
be

be more than one. In the resolution hereof, FIRST are laid foundations of no small importance, to discover the true principles of natural Philosophy.

SECONDLY, 'tis shown, that tho the surface of one earth had been contiguous to that of another, yet the parts of the one wou'd never the more for that move towards the other; understanding this of the heterogeneous or compounded parts, but not of the atoms and simple corpuscles: and on this occasion, a larger explication is given of the nature of gravity and levity.

THIRDLY is examin'd, for what reason these great bodies are dispos'd by nature at such a distance, and not rather nearer one to another, that a passage (forsooth) might be had from the one to the other: and here a reason is given unto him who has a deep insight into things, that Worlds ought not to be plac'd as it were in the circumference of the Ether, or near to such a void space as is destitute of all power, vertue, or operation; since thus on one side they wou'd be wholly and absolutely depriv'd of the means to have either life or light.

FOURTHLY, how local distance changes the nature of body, or when it does not change it: and how it is, that placing a stone equidistant from two earths, it wou'd remain

still there ; or from what cause it shou'd have a determination to move, rather towards one of these globes than the other.

FIFTHLY it is prov'd, how much ARISTOTLE is deceiv'd, when in bodies, tho ever so distant from one another, he places an impulse of gravity or levity from the one towards the other : and the cause is assign'd, whence proceeds what is call'd the desire of preserving their present being, how ignoble soever, in all things ; this desire being the cause of what is likewise call'd appetite and aversion.

SIXTHLY, 'tis demonstrated, that direct motion, or motion in a straight line, neither is agreeable nor natural to the Earth or to the other principal bodies, but onely to the inconstituent parts or particles ; which, if not too widely separated, tend to such bodies from all places the nearest way.

SEVENTHLY, an argument is drawn from Comets to prove, that it is not true that a heavy body, however remote, has an impulse or motion towards its principal or whole ; this fancy not being built on true physical principles, but on the gratuitous suppositions of the Philosophy of ARISTOTLE, who forms and compounds the Comets of those parts we call the vapours and exhalations of the earth.

EIGHTH-

EIGHTHLY, on occasion of another argument, (showing the Comets to be real Planets that have nothing to do with this earth) 'tis prov'd that simple bodies, which are of the same species in the other innumerable Worlds, are likewise mov'd every where after the same manner; and how a numeral makes a local diversity, how every part has its own centre, and has a relation to the common centre of its whole, which sort of centre is not however to be look'd for in the Universe.

NINTHLY is prov'd, that neither bodies nor their parts are determin'd to above or below, otherwise than as the place of their preservation is here or there.

TENTHLY, how motion is infinite, and what moveable it is that has an infinite tendency, and to innumerable compositions: yet 'tis prov'd, that, for all this, there follows not a gravity or levity with infinite velocity; that the motion of the proximate parts, so far as they keep their being, cannot be infinite; and that an impulse of the parts towards their Continent or Whole, can never exist but within the region of the same, or (as we say) in the sphere of its activity.

The Argument of the fifth Dialogue.

IN the beginning of the fifth Dialogue is introduc'd a person endow'd with a more happy genius, and who, tho bred up the contrary way, yet for being able to judge of what he heard and saw, can perceive the difference between the one and the other Philosophy, and consequently is easily convinc'd, and as easily corrects himself. Mention is made of them, to whom ARISTOTLE appears to be a miracle of nature ; whereas they, who have the poorest understanding, and comprehend him least, are they who magnify him most. Next are given reasons why we ought to have pity upon such, and to avoid disputing with them, since there is nothing to be gain'd with them but loss of time.

HERE ALBERTINUS, the new Interlocutor, brings twelve Objections, in which consists all the force of the doctrine contrary to the plurality and multitude of Worlds.

THE first objection is taken from hence, that without the World there is neither Place, nor Time, nor Vacuum, nor Body simple, nor compound.

THE second objection, is from the Oneness of the mover.

THE third, from the Places of moveable bodies.

THE fourth, from the distance of the Horizons from the Centre.

THE fifth, from the contiguity of more orbicular Worlds.

THE sixth, from the triangular Spaces they must cause by their contact.

THE seventh, from an actual infinite which is not in being, and from a determinate number not more reasonable than the other : from which objection we can equally, if not with more advantage, infer, that number therefore is not determinate, but infinite.

THE eighth objection is taken from the terminateness or finitude of natural things, and from their passive power which corresponds not to the Divine Efficacy and active Power: but here it is to be consider'd, how mighty inconveniently the first and most high Being is compar'd to a fidler, who has skill to play, but cannot for want of a fiddle; so that he is one that can do, but does not, because that thing which he can make cannot be made by him. This implies a more than manifest contradiction, which cannot but

be seen, except onely by those who see nothing.

THE ninth objection, is taken from moral goodness, which consists in society.

THE tenth is, that the contiguity of one world to another, wou'd mutually hinder their motions.

THE eleventh and last objection is, that if this world be complete and perfect, there is no reason it should join itself or be joined to any one or more such Worlds.

THESE are the Doubts, Difficulties, and Motives, about the solution whereof I have said enough in the following Dialogues, to expose the intimate and radicated errors of the common Philosophy, and to show the weight and worth of our own. Here you'll meet with the reasons why we shou'd not fear that any part of this Universe should fall or fly off, that the least particle shou'd be lost in empty space, or be truly annihilated. Here you'll perceive the reason of that vicissitude which may be observ'd in the constant change of all things, whereby it happens, that there is nothing so ill but may befall us or be prevented, nor any thing so good but may be lost or obtain'd by us ; since in this infinite field the parts and modes do perpetually vary,

ry, tho the substance and the whole do eternally persevere the same.

FROM this contemplation (if we do but rightly consider) it will follow, that we ought never to be dispirited by any strange accidents through excess of fear or pain, nor ever be elated by any prosperous event thro excess of hope or pleasure; whence we have the way to true Morality, and, following it, we wou'd become the magnanimous despisers of what men of childish thoughts do fondly esteem, and the wise judges of the history of nature which is written in our minds, and the strict executioners of those divine laws which are engraven in the center of our hearts. We wou'd know, that it is no harder thing to fly from hence up into Heaven, than to fly from heaven back again to the Earth, that ascending thither and descending hither are all one; that we are no more circumferential to the other Globes than they are to us, nor they more central to us than we are to them, and that none of 'em is more above the stars than we, as they are no less than we cover'd over or comprehended by the sky. Behold us therefore free from envying them! behold us deliver'd from the vain anxiety and foolish care of desiring to enjoy that good afar off, which in as great a degree we may possess so near hand, and even at home! Behold us freed from the terror that they should fall upon us, any more than

than we shou'd hope that we might fall upon them; since every one as well as all of those globes are sustain'd by infinite Ether, in which this our animal freely runs, and keeps to his prescrib'd course, as the rest of the planets do to theirs.

DID we but consider and comprehend all this, oh! to what much further considerations and comprehensions should we be carry'd! as we might be sure to obtain that happiness by virtue of this science, which in other sciences is sought after in vain. This is that Philosophy which opens the senses, which satisfies the mind, which enlarges the understanding, and which leads man to the only true beatitude whereof he's capable according to his natural state and constitution; for it frees him from the solicitous pursuit of pleasure, and from the anxious apprehensions of pain, making him enjoy the good things of the present hour, and not to fear more than he hopes from the future; since that same providence, or fate, or fortune, which causes the vicissitudes of our particular being, will not let us know more of the one, than we are ignorant of the other. At first sight indeed we are apt to be dubious and perplex: but when we more profoundly consider the essence and accidents of that matter into which we are mutable, we'll find that there is no death attending ours or the substance of any other thing; since nothing is substantially diminished, but only

only every thing changing form by its perpetual motion in this infinite space. And seeing every thing is subject to a good and most perfect efficient cause, we ought neither to believe nor hope otherwise, than that as every thing proceeds from what is good, so the whole must needs be good, in a good state, and to a good purpose : the contrary of which appears only to them who consider no more than is just before them, as the beauty of an edifice is not manifest to one that has seen only some small portion of the same, as a stone, the plastering, or part of a wall ; but is most charming to him that saw the whole, and had leisure to observe the symmetry of the parts.

WE fear not therefore that what is accumulated in this world, should by the malice of some wandering spirit, or by the wrath of some evil genius, be shook and scatter'd as it were into smoak or dust, out of this cupolo of the sky, and beyond the starry mantle of the firmament : nor that the nature of things can otherwise come to be annihilated in substance, than as it seems to our eyes, that the air contain'd in the concavity of a bubble is become nothing, when that bubble is burst ; because we know that in the world one thing ever succeeds another, there being no utmost bottom, whence, as by the hand of an artificer, things are irreparably struck into nothing. There are no ends, limits, margins,

or

or walls, that keep back or substract any parcel of the infinite abundance of things. Thence it is, that the earth and sea are ever equally fertile, and thence the perpetual brightness of the sun; eternal fuel circulating to those devouring fires, and a supply of waters being eternally furnish'd to the evaporated seas, from the infinite and ever renewing magazine of matter: so that DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS, who asserted the infinity of things with their perpetual variableness and restoration, were so far more in the right, than he who endeavour'd to account for the eternally same appearance of the Universe, by making homogeneous particles of matter ever and numerically to succeed one another.

LOOK to it now, Gentlemen Astrologers, with your humble servants the natural Philosophers; and see to what use you can put your Circles that are describ'd by the imaginary nine moveable Spheres, in which you so imprison your brains, that you seem to me like so many parrots in their cages, hopping and dancing from one perch to another, yet always turning and winding within the same wires. But be it known unto you that so great an Emperor has not so narrow a palace, so miserable a throne, so low a tribunal, so scanty a court, so little and weak a representative; as that a fancy can bring it forth, a dream overlay it, madness repair it, a chimera shatter it, a disaster lessen it, another accident encrease

encrease it, and a thought make it perfect again, being brought together by a blast, and made solid by a shake ; 'tis, on the contrary, an immense portraiture, an admirable image, an exalted figure, a most high vestige, an infinite representation of an infinite original, and a spectacle befitting the excellency and eminence of him that can neither be imagin'd, nor conceiv'd, nor comprehended.

THUS the excellency of GOD is magnify'd, and the grandeur of his Empire made manifest ; he's not glorify'd in one but in numberless Suns, not in one Earth or in one World, but in ten hundred thousand, in infinite Globes : so that this faculty of the intellect is not vain or arbitrary, that ever will and can add space to space, quantity to quantity, unity to unity, number to number. By this science we are loosen'd from the chains of a most narrow dungeon, and set at liberty to rove in a most august empire ; we are remov'd from conceited boundaries and poverty, to the innumerable riches of an infinite space, of so worthy a field, and of such beautiful worlds : this science does not (in a word) make a horizontal circle feign'd by the eye on earth, and imagin'd by the fancy in the spacious sky.

THERE are other worthy and honorable fruits that may be gather'd from these trees, other precious and desirable crops that may
be

be reapt from those seeds I have sown ; which we shall not at this time specify, lest we importunately sollicit the blind envy of our adversaries: but we leave 'em to be collected by the discretion of those who can judge and comprehend, and who of themselves will be easily capable to raise on the foundations we have laid the entire structure of our Philosophy. The particular members of it (if so it pleases those powers that govern and move us, and if the work we have begun comes not to be interrupted) we shall bring to the desired perfection: that what is sown in the Dialogues of *the Cause, Principle, and One*, and sprung up in these of *the infinite Universe and numberless Worlds*, may branch out, encrease, grow mature, be happily reapt, and as much as possible give content in other Dialogues; while with the best corn that the soil we cultivate can produce (after winnowing it from fetches, darnel, weeds, and chaff) we fill the granaries of studious wits.

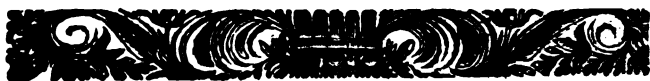
IN the mean time (tho I be certain he needs no recommendation to you) I shall not be wanting to do my part, by effectually recommending one to your LORDSHIP, whom you are not to entertain among your domestics as having need of him, but as a person having need of you for so many and so great purposes as you here see. Consider, that for having such numbers at hand bound to serve you, you are thereby nothing different from

far-

INNUMERABLE WORLDS. 349

farmers, bankers, or merchants; but that for having a man deserving to be by you encourag'd, protect'd, and assist'd, you are in reality (what you have always shewn your self to be) like unto magnanimous Princes, Heroes, and Gods, who have ordain'd such as you for the defence of their friends. I put you in mind of what I know is superfluous to do, which is, that you can neither be so much esteem'd by the world, nor so acceptable to GOD, for being belov'd and favour'd by the greatest monarch on earth, as for loving, cherishing, and maintaining such as these; for there is nothing that your superiours in fortune can do for you, but you may do more for them by superiour virtue, which will last longer than the remembrance of their favors in your pictures or tapestries: but you can do that for others which may be written in the book of eternity, whether it be the volume which is seen on earth, or that other which is believ'd to be in heaven; in as much as whatever you receive from others is a testimony of their virtue, but whatever you do for them is an exprefs sign and indication of your own. Farewell.





A
CATALOGUE
OF
BOOKS

Mention'd by the Fathers and other ancient Writers, as truly or falsely ascrib'd to JESUS CHRIST, his APOSTLES, and other eminent persons.

TO
A PERSON OF QUALITY
IN
HOLLAND.



THAT you say has been told you, SIR, by several Persons, is very true; that I have publish'd something relating to the CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, which has made no small noise here. And, as in all things it is as much my inclination as it is

is my duty to obey you, so I shall now, (without further delay) do my self the honour of imparting to you, according to your desire, both the occasion and the contents of that writing.

THE celebrated MILTON is no less known to you, SIR, than he's to all the curious out of England, by the penetration and solidity of his judgment, as well as by the laudable purity (I wish I could not say, and by the excessive sharpness) of his Latin stile; express'd in his *Defence of the People of England* against SALMASIUS, also in his *Letters of State*, in those to his *familiar Friends*, and in his *Defences for himself*. But these (if I am allow'd a competent Judge) are mean performances in comparison of his most excellent Epic Poem in our English tongue, entitul'd, *Paradise lost*: neither do we think ourselves to be at all partial to our Country, nor yet are we afraid to be thought very ill Critics; when in the plenty and choice of his words, in the propriety and elegance of his expressions, in the justness and sublimity of his thoughts, in the beauty of his episodes, and in the judicious disposition of his whole fable, we esteem him nothing inferior to HOMER or VIRGIL, to whom we only yield the precedence of Time, and the glory of Invention! MILTON has also in English prose publish'd so many valuable Pieces in Politics, Divinity, History, and concerning diverse other subjects,

jects, that we ever counted him one of our first-rate Authors ; and therefore justly deserving to have the *History of his Life* transmitted to posterity. This task, SIR, at the desire of several worthy persons, I willingly undertook : as having been no less conversant with his works - (which kindled in me a love for his memory) than with many of his intimate friends and acquaintance ; who, besides other informations, readily presented me with what Manuscripts of his, or any way relating to him, they had in their hands. I can modestly affirm, that I gave satisfaction to his admirers, without being reputed partial by his enemies, not one of them pretending that I had in any thing misrepresented him.

THE Book however was not long abroad before it was attack'd on another score by Mr. BLACKHALL (then one of King WILLIAM's Chaplains, and since made Bishop of Exeter by Queen ANNE) in a *Sermon* preach'd before the lower house of Parliament. For he was offended to the highest degree, that I had, in this *Life*, occasionally seconded those, who asserted the spuriousness of *Icon Basilike* (1), a Book that past every where for the genuine production of King CHARLES the first ; and so made a very natural observation on this forgery in the following words: " When I seriously consider how all this hap-

(1) *Εικων βασιλικη*.

“ pen’d among our selves within the compass
 “ of forty years, in a time of great Learning
 “ and Politeness, when both parties so nar-
 “ rowly watch’d over one another’s actions,
 “ and what a great revolution in civil and
 “ religious affairs was partly occasion’d by the
 “ credit of that Book, I cease to wonder any
 “ longer how so many supposititious Pieces
 “ under the Name of CHRIST, his Apostles,
 “ and other great Persons, should be publish’d
 “ and approv’d in those primitive times, when
 “ it was of so much importance to have ‘em
 “ believ’d; when the cheats were too many
 “ on all sides for them to reproach one ano-
 “ ther, which yet they often did; when com-
 “ merce was not near so general as now, and
 “ the whole earth entirely over-spread with
 “ the darkness of superstition. I doubt rather
 “ the spuriousness of several more such Books
 “ is yet undiscover’d, thro the remoteness of
 “ those ages, the death of the persons con-
 “ cern’d, and the decay of their Monuments,
 “ which might give us true information.

THO’ I said, that a great many spurious
 Books were early father’d on CHRIST, his A-
 postles, and other great names, part whereof
 are still acknowledg’d to be genuin, and the
 rest to be forg’d; yet in neither of those as-
 sertions I could be justly suppos’d to mean the
 Books of the New Testament. However,
 Dr. BLACKHALL did, out of the twin-spirits
 of zeal and revenge, positively assure the

Members of that august Assembly (who were more clearfighted and equitable than to receive his accusation) that I had likewise as exprefsly call'd in doubt, the Books now receiv'd for Canonical by the whole Chriftian Church. *We may cease to wonder, ſaid he, that he ſhould have the boldneſs, without proof, and againſt proof, to deny the Authority of that Book, [the ICON BASILIKE] who is ſuch an Infidel as to doubt, and is ſhameleſs and impudent enough, even in print, and in a Chriſtian Country, publickly to affront our holy Religion, by declaring his doubt that ſeveral Pieces under the name of Chriſt and his Apoſtles (he muſt mean thoſe now receiv'd by the whole Chriſtian Church, for I know of no other) are ſuppoſitious; tho' thro' the remoteneſs of thoſe ages, the death of the perſons concern'd, and the decay of other Monuments which might give us true Information, the ſpurioſneſs thereof is yet undiscover'd.*

Dr. BLACKHALL, you ſee, affirms that I muſt intend the Books *now receiv'd by the whole Chriſtian Church, for he knows of no other*: whereby he betray'd a moſt ſhameful ignorance of Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity. By the Books of whoſe *ſpurioſneſs* I ſaid the world was not yet convinc'd, tho' in my private opinion I cou'd not think them genuine, I meant the ſuppos'd *Writings* of certain Apoſtolic men (as they call them) which are at this preſent, as well as in antient times,
read

read with extraordinary veneration. And they are the *Epistle of* BARNABAS, the *Pastor of* HERMAS, the *Epistle of* POLYCARPUS *to the* *Philippians*, the *first Epistle of* CLEMENS *Romanus to the* *Corinthians*, and the *seven Epistles of* IGNATIUS. They are generally receiv'd as Apostolical, tho not Canonical, in the Church of Rome, and also by most Protestants.

I did immediately publish a Defence of Milton's *Life*, which for that reason I entitled *Amyntor*, from a Greek word I need not explain to you. And to convince the world that I did not intend by those Pieces the Books of the New Testament, as well as to shew the rashness and uncharitableness of Dr. BLACKHALL's assertion, I inserted in it a large Catalogue of Books antiently ascrib'd to JESUS CHRIST, his Apostles, their Acquaintance, Companions, and Contemporaries. This is the *Catalogue* you desire to see; and I send it you very much enlarg'd, and more compleat than any hitherto publish'd.

BUT such as it was in *Amyntor*, it met with a favourable reception among the learned abroad, and particularly with the no less learned than laborious Professor (2) FABRICIUS of Hamburg, who some years after publish'd himself a *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*.

(2) *Bibliotheca Graeca*, Lib. iv. cap. 5. §. 15.

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And the most candid PFAFFIUS, Professor at Turinge, after mentioning Monsieur DAILLÉ, Father SIMON, Dr. ITTIGIUS, and Dr. GRABE, who wrote before me; with Dr. MILL, and Dr. FABRICIUS, who have written after me, calls it *a* (3) *remarkable Catalogue*.

AND now, Sir, I have acquainted you with the reasons which induc'd me to write my *Amyntor*, I shall by way of Conclusion, add a short but sufficient account of the Writings that it gave occasion to be publish'd. My principal Antagonists were four Divines: namely, the self-same Dr. BLACKHALL, Mr. CLARKE, since a Doctor of Divinity, Mr. NYE Rector of Little Horstead in Hartfordshire, and Mr. RICHARDSON, a Nonjuror, since that time deceas'd. For my not replying to them hitherto, nor to some others that have drawn their pens against me on the same score, has been equally free from the spirit of conceited arrogance or conscious ti-

(3) Quod vero eos attinet, qui vel planè supposititium censent esse Novum Testamentum, aut saltem maximam illius partem, quod veteres Haeretici magno numero arbitrati sunt, nova Evangelia, Acta, Literas, Apocalypses, aliosque libellos orbi Christiano obtrudentes, quorum (præter summos viros Jo. Alb. Fabricium in Codice Apocrypho Novi Testamenti, Jo. Ernest. Grabium in Spicilegio Patrum, itemque Jo. Millium in Prolegomen. ad Novum Test. part. 2. & quos primùm nominare debebam, Jo. Dallæum, Ric. Simonium, Tho. Ittigium aliosque) insignem dedit Catalogum Jo. Tolandus in Amyntore. Part 1. pag. 20—38. In Dissert. Crit. Librorum Novi Testamenti Lectione rite investiganda. Cap. 1. §. 2.

morous-

morousness. There are Books, it's true, whose Authors understand so little of the subject in debate, and who rail so unmeasurably against those they cannot confute (among which I am far from reckoning the last three of the four I have just nam'd) that without being over proud, they deserve no attention, much less a reply. Nor, generally speaking, do such Books meet with any readers, but those whose judgment no body values. On the other hand, when a man is attack'd by several considerable Persons one after another, I think not only in good manners he ought to give 'em the hearing without any interruption, till they have once done; but likewise to sit still in point of prudence, that he may not be oblig'd to eternal repetitions, or to write against every one of them separately, to the great fatigue both of the Readers and himself. Moreover it frequently happens, that many Answerers confound themselves by their mutual contradictions; the one commending and approving, what the other blames and condemns in an Author, which has been more than once my very case: besides that the last Answerer seems to acknowledge in some sort, as if the rest had not succeeded in their efforts, since if they had, it must needs have been superfluous for him to write after them. I shall not forget, on this occasion, what those two bright ornaments of all useful and polite Learning Monsieur BASNAGE and Monsieur LE CLERC have reply'd,

the one to Mr. RICHARDSON, the other to Mr. DODWELL, upon the account of the famous passage I quoted in *Amyntor* from this last Gentleman ; tho' without any reflection from either of those illustrious Foreners, against my Book or my Person. But the *Jesuits* of Trevoux have taken care not to be guilty of such an untheological fault, which proceeding therefore justly entitles them to a greater share in my remembrance.

I am with the profoundest respect and veneration,

S I R,


Your most faithful
and obedient Servant.

A

A CATALOGUE of Books mention'd by the Fathers and other ancient Writers, as truly or falsely ascrib'd to JESUS CHRIST, his APOSTLES, and other eminent Persons; or of such Books as do immediately concern the same: some of which Pieces are still extant entire, most of which shall be markt in their places; tho the Fragments only of the greatest part remain, and but the bare Titles of others.

CHAPTER I.

Books reported to be written by JESUS himself, or that particularly concern him.

- I.  HE Letter of JESUS in answer to that of ABGARUS King of Edessa. *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 13.* NICEPHORUS says he wrote it with his own hand. *Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 7.* You may also consult PROCOPIUS, CEDRENIUS, CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROGENETUS in *Manipulo COMBEFISII*, pag. 79, &c. Extant,

2. *THE Epistle of JESUS to PETER and PAUL.* *Augustin. contra Faust. l. 28. c. 13. Idem de Consensu Evangelist. l. 1. c. 9.* But the forger of this piece forgot, that PAUL was neither a Christian, nor an Apostle, till after the death of CHRIST.

3. *THE Parables and Sermons of CHRIST.* *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 39.*

4. A HYMN which CHRIST secretly taught his Disciples and Apostles. *Augustin. Epist. ad Ceretium Episcopum. Edit. Benedictin. 237.*

5. A BOOK of the Magic of CHRIST, or the Art whereby he wrought his Miracles: if it be not the same with the Epistle to PETER and PAUL? *Augustin. de Consensu Evangelist. l. 1. c. 9, 10.*

6. A BOOK of the Nativity of JESUS, of the holy Virgin his Mother, and her Midwife. *Gelasius in Decreto, apud Gratian. part. 1. distinct. 15. can. 3.* But I believe this to be the same with the Gospel of JAMES, whereof in its due order.

7. THERE was in the sixth Century a Letter handed about, and read from their Pulpits by some Bishops, as written by CHRIST, and dropt down from Heaven. *Aguirr. tom. 2. collect.*

collect. max. Concilior. Hispan. pag. 428.
 'Tis extant, and serv'd for a model to those other barbarous *Epistles* of the same nature that were feign'd in later times, but with which therefore we have nothing to do.

8. A GREAT many *Sayings* attributed to CHRIST, but not recorded in the *New Testament*, are to be read in the *Fathers*, in some various readings of the *Gospels*, and particularly in the *Alcoran* (with other Mahometan Authors) who had them out of *the Gospel of BARNABAS*, and such-like pieces specify'd in this Catalogue.

CHAPTER II.

M A R Y.

1. **A**N *Epistle to IGNATIUS*, which is now extant among his Works. It is evident from BERNARD of Clairval and others, that there were formerly more than one such *Epistle*. We have likewise IGNATIUS's Answer.

2. ANOTHER *Epistle* to the inhabitants of Messina in Sicily, in the penning of which the Evangelist LUKE was the Virgin's secretary. MELCHIOR INCHOFER, a Jesuite, wrote a whole folio to prove this Letter (which is now extant) to be authentic: but when GABRIEL NAUDÉ alledg'd several

veral reasons to him in discourse, to shew it was spurious; INCHOFER answer'd, that he knew all this as well as himself, and that he believ'd nothing of the matter, but that he publish'd the Book in obedience to his superiors: he might have added, and for an ample reward from the Magistrates of Messina. *Thus*, says the most judicious NAUDÉ in the *Naudeana, are Errors and Deceits spread in the world; and thus are simple Souls misled at all times*. By the way, the Cathedral of Messina is hence call'd *Madonna della Lettera*: and such another Letter was forg'd by the Florentines, to rival the Sicilians; or at least, that their City and Priests might profit as much by this fraud as did the others.

3. A BOOK *of the Nativity of the Virgin* MARY is still extant, and usually publish'd with JEROM's works, as if it had been translated by him out of Hebrew. It is in some Copies (for they are very different) attributed to MATTHEW, and is quoted by GREGORY NYSSEN, AUGUSTINE, and other *Fathers*.

4. I FANCY this last Book may be the same with *the History and Traditions of* MARY, mention'd by EPIPHANIUS, *Haeres.* 29. n. 5. Also a certain SELEUCUS (or rather LEUCIUS) the most prodigious Book-forgery that ever was, made a *Nativity of* MARY, which

which may be this very work, tho not entirely as we now have it.

5. A BOOK about the Death of the Virgin MARY, is said by LAMBECIUS to lie unpublish'd in the Emperor's Library. *Bibliothec. Vindobon. tom. 4. pag. 131.* Such a Manuscript is to be found in some other Libraries.

6. WE shall not insist on the Book of MARY, concerning the Miracles of CHRIST, and the Ring of King SOLOMON. The very Title is more than sufficient.

7. THE *Book of the Virgin MARY and her Midwife*, rejected in the *Decree of GELASIUS*, is no doubt the same with the *Proto-evangelion of JAMES*: a most ridiculous Romance, of which more hereafter.

8. THE *greater and lesser Questions of MARY. Epiphan. Haeres. 26. n. 8.*

9. THE *Book of the Progeny of MARY*, if it be not rather the same with her *History and Traditions* above-mention'd? *Epiphan. Haeres. 26, n. 12.*



CHAPTER III.

PETER.

1. **T**HE Gospel of PETER. *Origen. tom. 11. Comment. in Matt. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3, 25. Idem, l. 6. c. 12. Hieronym. in Catalogo Script. Eccles. c. 1. Theodorit. Haeretic. fabul. l. 2. c. 2, &c.* 'Tis likewise mention'd in some Copies of the GELASIAN Decree: and was perhaps the Gospel of the Nazarens, of which hereafter.

2. THE Acts of PETER, *Origen. tom. 21. Comment. in Joan. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 7. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3. Hieronym. in Catal. Isidor. Pelusiot. l. 2. Epist. 99. Philastr. in Haeres. 87. & Gelas. in Decreto.*

3. THE Revelation of PETER, which (according to ZOZOMEN, *Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 19.*) was read once a year in some Churches of Palestine, the People devoutly fasting all that day. *Clem. Alex. non semel, & in Epitom. Theodot. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3, 25. etiam l. 6. c. 14. Hieronym. in Catal. c. 1. Nicephor. Hist. Eccles. l. 12. c. 34. & in Stichometris.*

4. THE Revelation of PETER, whereof JACOBUS a Vitriaco speaks in his Epistle to Pope HONORIUS the third, was a different and more novel forgery.

5. THE

5. THE *Epistle of PETER to CLEMENS*, is still shown in the Ethiopic language by the Eastern Christians. *Tillemont. Hist. Eccles. tom. 1. part. 2. pag. 497.*

6. THE *Epistle of CLEMENS to JAMES* being publish'd at the head of the *Clementine Recognitions*, COTELERIUS has inserted another *Epistle of PETER to JAMES*, in *tom. 1. Patr. Apostolic. pag. 602.*

7. SOME think PETER alludes to some *Epistle* of his, now lost, in the 12th verse of the 5th chapter of his *first Epistle*. But the *Epistle*, which Pope STEPHEN the third sent in PETER's name to King PEPIN and his two sons, is nothing to our purpose, being so modern an Imposture.

8. THE *Doctrine of PETER*, if this be not some part of the *Recognitions*? *Origen. in Praefat. ad libros Principiorum. Gregor. Nazianz. Epist. 16. Elias Levita in Notis ad Nazianzeni Orationem ad Cives trepidantes.*

9. THE *Preaching of PETER*. *Origen. tom. 14. in Joan. Idem in Praefat. ad libros Principior. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 1, 2, 6. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3, 25. Lactant. l. 4. c. 21. Autor libri de Baptismo inter opera Cypri-*

Cypriani. Hieronym. in Catal. Joan. Damascen. Parallel. l. 2. c. 16.

10. THE *Liturgy of PETER*, publish'd by LINDANUS at Antwerp, in the year 1588, and at Paris in the year 1595. There is a *Liturgy* likewise attributed to MARY, and one to CHRIST himself, tho we have not thought fit to insert them under their respective heads.

11. THE *Itinerary or Journeys of PETER* (mention'd by EPIPHANIUS, *Haeres. 30. n. 15.* and by ATHANASIUS, in *Synopsi Scripturar.*) I believe to be the same with the *Recognitions of CLEMENT* still extant, and consisting of ten books, where the pretended CLEMENS gives a very particular account of PETER's voyages and performances. These *Periods*, or *Tours*, are recorded by ORIGEN, *Philocal. c. 23.* by JEROM, *contra Jovinian. l. 1.* and are rejected in the *Decree of GELASIUS*.

12. THE *Precepts of PETER and PAUL* come under another head.

13. THE *Judgment of PETER. Hieronym. in Catal. Item Ruffinus in expositione Symboli.* I wish we had it, for the title is pretty particular.

14. THE

14. THE *Disputation of PETER and APION*. *Hieronym. in Catal. & ante eum Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 38. Phot. in Bibliothec. cod. 113. Honor. Augustodun. de Script. Ecclesiast.*

CHAPTER IV. ANDREW.

1. THE Gospel of ANDREW. *Gelas. in Decreto, &c. Apocryphal pieces of ANDREW are mention'd by AUGUSTINE, contra Adversar. Legis & Prophet. l. 1. c. 20. and by Pope INNOCENT the first, in Epist. 3. ad Exuperium.*

2. THE *Acts of ANDREW*. *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Epiphan. Haeres. 42. n. 1. Item Haeres. 61. n. 1. & 63. n. 2. Augustin. contra Adversar. Leg. & Prophet. l. 1. c. 20. Philastr. Haeres. 87. Gelas. in Decreto, & Turibius Asturicensis apud Paschasium Quesnellum inter Epistolas Leonis magni, pag. 459.*

CHAPTER V. JAMES.

1. THE Gospel of JAMES or his *Proto-evangelion*. *Origen. in tom. 11. Comment. in Mat. Epiphan. Haeres. 30. n.*

23. *Eustath. Antiochen. Comment. in Hexaemeron. Innocent. I. Epist. 3. Epiphanius Monachus in Notis Allatii ad Eustath.* ALLATIUS says, that GREGORY Nyssen has borrow'd a great many things out of this *Gospel*, without mentioning the name of JAMES. This book is now in Manuscript in the Imperial Library, as LAMBECIUS affirms, *Bibliothec. Vindobon. l. 5. pag. 130, 131.* NESSEL, his continuator, says that there are no fewer than five copies of it there. Father SIMON tells us, that he has seen two Greek Manuscript Copies of it in the French King's Library; *Nouvelles Observations, pag. 4.* It was printed by NEANDER; and also in the first volum of the *Orthodoxographs*, by GRÆNEUS, who values it highly, as likewise does BIBLIANDER, both Protestants. But POSTELUS, a Roman Catholic, who brought a Copy of it from the East, and first publish'd it with his own Translation, most extravagantly fancies it to be the basis and foundation of the whole Evangelical History, and the head or first part of MARK's *Gospel*. 'Tis for these reasons that I have been so particular about this book, which is sometimes ascrib'd to PETER: *Vide Hinkelmanni Praefat. ad Alcoranum.*

2. THE *Liturgy of JAMES* is printed in the second tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, at Paris, in the year 1624.

3. WE

3. WE mention'd before the book of JAMES concerning the death of the Virgin MARY: but there wanted not who believ'd JOHN, and not JAMES, to have been the Author of it.

CHAPTER VI.

JOHN.

1. **T**HE *Acts of JOHN*. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25. Epiphan. Haeres. 42. n. 1. Augustin. contra Adversar. Leg. & Prophet. l. 1. c. 20. Philastr. Haeres. 87. Turibii Scriptum inter Epistolas Leonis Magni apud Paschasium Quesnellum, pag. 459. Phot. Bibliothec. in cod. 229.*

2. ANOTHER *Gospel of JOHN*, different from that in our Canon. *Epiphan. Haeres. 30. n. 23.*

3. THE *Itinerary, or Voyages of JOHN*. *Athanas. in Append. ad Synops. Scripturar. Gelasius in Decreto.*

4. THE *Liturgy of JOHN*, was, together with several others, printed in Syriac at Rome. See Father SIMON in his *Supplement to LEO of Modena*.

5. WE spoke before of JOHN's book about the death of the Virgin MARY.

6. THERE is annext to this piece, in the 453^d Manuscript of the *Colbertine Library*, another book attributed to the same JOHN, and entitu'd, *the Memorial of JESUS CHRIST, and his descent from the Cross*: if it be not the same with a book we shall mention *cap. 17. art. 19.*

7. THE *Traditions of JOHN.* *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. ult.*

8. THE *Epistle of JOHN to the Hydropic*, is extant in PROCHORUS, who has likewise written his life. *Bibliothec. Patr. tom. 2. pag. 61. Edit. Lugd.* There is besides a *Life of JOHN* in the Armenian tongue, printed in the Armenian *Lectionary.*

9. A *Revelation of JOHN*, different from that in our present Canon, lies among the Manuscripts of the Imperial Library at Vienna, *number 121*: and 'tis mentioned by THEODOSIUS *Alexandrinus* in his Manuscript Commentary on *Dionysius of Thrace. Cod. Baroc. 57.*

10. THE silliest Imposture of all, is the *Revelation* pretended to be found in a mountain near Granada, in the year 1595; translated into modern Spanish (forsooth) and illustrated with a Commentary, by CECILIUS the Disciple of JAMES the elder, many hundred

TO THE APOSTLES, &c. 371
dred years before the Spanish language had a
being. See Dr. GEDDES's *Tracts*, vol. 1.

CHAPTER VII. BARTHOLOMEW.

1. **T**HE Gospel of BARTHOLOMEW. *Hi-
eronym. in Prolegomen. ad Comment.
in Mat. Dionysius Areopag. de Mystica Theo-
logia, c. 1. Gelasius in Decreto. Videantur
etiam de Bartholomaeo Euseb. Hist. Eccles.
l. 5. c. 10. & Bedam ab initio Commentar,
in Luc.*

CHAPTER VIII. PHILIP.

1. **T**HE Gospel of PHILIP. *Epiphan. Hae-
res. 26. n. 13. Timotheus Presbyter,
a Combefisio edit. in tom. 2. Auctuar. Leon-
tius de sectis, lectione tertia, pag. 432.*

2. THE Acts of PHILIP. *Gelasius in
Decreto: Item Anastasius Sinaita de tribus
Quadragesimis, qui ea vocat tres periodos.
Editus est Anastasius a Cotelerio, tom. 3.
Monument. Eccles. Graec. pag. 428.*

CHAPTER IX.

T H O M A S.

1. **T**HE Gospel of THOMAS. *Iren. adversus Haeres. l. 1. c. 17. Origen. in homil. 1. ad Luc. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Hieronym. in Praefat. ad Mat. Athanas. in Append. ad Synops. Scriptur. Augustin. contra Faust. l. 22. c. 79. Cyril. Hierosolym. Catech. 4, 6. Nicephor. in Stichometria. Gelas. in Decreto. Beda, ac alii multi.*

2. THE Acts of THOMAS. *Epiphan. Haeres. 42. n. 1. Idem, Haeres. 61. n. 1. Augustin. contra Adimant. Idem, l. 1. de sermone Dei: ac contra Faust. l. 22. c. 79. Turib. Asturicens. Epist. toties citat. Sic Athanasius etiam ac Photius.*

3. THE Revelations of THOMAS. *Gelasius in Decreto.*

4. THE Itinerary of THOMAS. *Athanas. in Append. ad Synops. S. Scripturar. Gelas. in Decreto. Nicephorus in Stichometria.* This book is extant entire in the French King's Library, num°. 1832 and 2394: as likewise in the Bodleian Library, *Cod. Baroc.* 180.

5. THE book of the Infancy of CHRIST, pretended to have been written by THOMAS the

the Apostle, is not the same with the *Gospel* attributed to THOMAS, one of MANES's disciples. *Epiphan. Haeres.* 34. n. 18. & *Haeres.* 51. n. 20. *Gelas. in Decreto. Nicephor. in Stichometria.* LAMBECIUS says, that there is a Manuscript of this book in the Imperial Library. *Bibliothec. Vindobon. tom. 7. pag.* 20. Father SIMON (in his *Nouvelles Observations*) writes that there is a Grec Manuscript copy or two of it in the French King's Library. It was printed some years since in Latin and Arabic, with learned Notes by Mr. SYKE at Utrecht: and, after his coming to England, I lent him a Latin version of it on Parchment, which is very old; and which, had it timely come to his hands, might have sav'd him a great part of his labor. But what's become of it, since his unfortunate death, I know not; neither have I claim'd it, as having nothing to show my title. Several others have written of the Infancy of CHRIST,

CHAPTER X.

MATTHEW.

1. **T**HE foregoing book of *the Infancy of CHRIST*, has been ascrib'd to MATTHEW; as I have remark'd in another place.

2. **THE Liturgy of MATTHEW.** *Tom. 27. Bibliothec. Patr. Lugdun. Natal. Alex. in seculo*
Aa 3

seculo primo, Part. I. c. II. art. I. Gerard. Confess. Cathol. tom. I. & alii multi.

CHAPTER XI.

MARK.

1. **T**HE *Liturgy of MARK.* *Joannes Bona de rebus Liturgicis, alique non pauci.*

2. BARONIUS is of opinion that MARK wrote the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (*ad annum Christi 44, num. 48.*) of which *Gospel* hereafter.

3. POSTELLUS (as we saw before) believ'd the *Protoevangelion*, attributed to JAMES, to have been the beginning of MARK's *Gospel*.

4. THERE's an anonymous historian of the Evangelist MARK, and JOHN MARK of the *passion of BARNABAS*, of which in due place.

CHAPTER XII.

THADDEUS.

1. **T**HE *Gospel of THADDEUS.* *Gelasius in quibusdam Decreti exemplaribus.* He's call'd by EUSEBIUS, who makes him one of

TO THE APOSTLES, &c. 375
of the seventy Disciples, *an Evangelist of the
Doctrine of CHRIST. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 13.*

CHAPTER XIII. MATTHIAS.

1. **T**HE Gospel of MATTHIAS. *Origen. homil. 1. in Luc. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Hieronym. in Prolegomen. ad Commentar. in Mat. Ambros. in Commentar. ad Luc. Gelas. in Decreto. Beda, initio Commentar. in Luc.*

2. THE Traditions of MATTHIAS. *Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 2, 3, 7. Item, Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 29. Nicephor. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 15.*

3. THE *Acts* of MATTHIAS, are to be read in BOLLANDUS, among the Saints of the 24th of January.

CHAPTER XIV. PAUL.

1. **T**HE *Acts* of PAUL. *Origen. de Princip. l. 1. c. 2. Idem, tom. 1. in Joan. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3, 29: ac in Stichometria a Cotelario edita. PHILASTRIUS says, that in these, and such other Acts, besides many prodigies and miracles, dogs and*
A a 4 *other*

other beasts were made to speak, and to have souls of the same nature with those of men. *Haeresf.* 87.

2. THE *Acts of PAUL and THECLA.* *Tertul. de Bapt. c.* 17. *Hieronym. de script. Ecclesf. in Paulo & Luca. Augustin. contra Faust. l.* 30. *c.* 4. *Epiphan. Haeresf.* 78. *n.* 16. *Gelas. in Decreto. Recentiores alii.* 'Tis extant, printed in the second volume of Dr. GRABE'S *Spicilegium.* I wonder much, how certain learned men cou'd be impos'd upon by this ridiculously fabulous Treatise; where a handsome young woman runs away from her Bridegroom (just ready to marry her) all over the world after PAUL, whose fellow-Apostle she becomes; and so she's actually call'd; all which circumstances gave no small scandal to many, as it is related in the book it self, which is stuf't from one end to the other with monstrous incoherencies and absurdities.

3. THE *Epistle of PAUL to the Laodiceans.* *Colossf.* 4. 12. *Tertul. adversus Marcion. l.* 5. *c.* 11, 17. *Hieronym. in Catal. c.* 5. *Epiphan. Haeresf.* 42. *n.* 9: & *alibi. Philastr. Haeresf.* 88. *Theodoret. Commentar. ad Colossf.* 4. 12. *tom.* 3. *Legantur etiam Theophylactus, Gregorius Magnus, & Concil. Nicen. II. act.* 6. *part.* 5.

4. A THIRD *Epistle of Paul to the Thesalonians,* was forg'd in his own life time, as some deduce from 2 *Thesf.* 2. 2.

5. SOME imagine that PAUL wrote a former *Epistle to the Ephesians*, from the third versé of the third chapter of his extant *Epistle*.

6. THERE wanted not, who, from an expression in POLYCARP, wou'd needs infer, that the Apostle of the Gentiles had written more than one *Epistle to the Philippians*.

7. A THIRD *Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians*, seems to be well grounded upon 1 Cor. 5. 9 : & 2 Cor. 13. 1.

8. ARCHBISHOP USHER, and Dr. JOHN GREGORY, have seen an Armenian Manuscript of Sir GILBERT NORTH's, where there was an *Epistle of the Corinthians to PAUL*, with PAUL's *answer* to the same: and both these *Epistles* are lately publish'd at Amsterdam, in the Armenian and Latin tongues, by Mr. DAVID WILKINS, now Doctor of Divinity, and Library-keeper at Lambeth.

9. KIRSTENIUS says, that several *Epistles of PAUL*, to us unknown, are extant in the Arabic language. *Praefat. ad Gram. Arab.*

10. THE *Epistles of PAUL to SENECA*, with those of *SENECA to PAUL*. These have been so far approv'd, that JEROME, on this account, places SENECA among the Christian writers,

writers, if not Saints : and they are defended as genuine by FABER *d'Estaples*, SIXTUS SENENSIS, ALPHONSUS SALMERON, and others. The ancient authorities for them are, *Hieronym. in Catal. c. 12. Augustin. de Civit. Dei, l. 6. c. 10. Idem, in Epist. 153. Edit. Benedictin. scilicet ad Macedonium. Joan. Sarisburiens. in Polycrat. l. 8. c. 13.* If I may reckon this last among the ancients? The *Epistles* however are still extant.

11. THE *Revelation of PAUL.* *Epiphan. Haeres. 38. n. 2. Augustin. tract. 98. in Joan. Theophylact. in Schol. ad 2 Cor. 12. 4. Oecumen. ad eundem locum. Zozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 19. Nicephor. Hist. Eccles. l. 12. c. 34. Gelas. in Decreto.*

12. THERE is a *Revelation of PAUL* in Merton College Library at Oxford, *cod. 13. n. 2. 1. Art. fol. 776.* But this *Revelation* is not the same with the former, which ZOZOMEN (in the place cited out of him) says was highly esteem'd by the Monks.

13. THE *Visions of PAUL.* *Epiphan. Haeres. 40. n. 7.* This book was different from the *Revelation* mention'd Num. 11. but I believe it is the same that MARCUS Patriarch of Alexandria, in his second Question to BALSAMON, calls *the Visions of St. PAUL.* *Bonfid. Jur. Oriental. pag. 240. Marquard. Freber, in Jure Graeco-Romano, tom. 1. pag. 363.*

14. THIS last book may be likewise the same that's recorded by these authors from NICEPHORUS *Homologeta*, who joins it with I know not what *Brontologies*, *Selenodromies*, and *Calendologies*, much like our worst sort of Almanacks: where not onely the days of the month and the age of the moon are mark'd; but also thunder, rain, and other changes of the weather prognosticated. But why such observations, as the settings and risings of the stars, or the divisions of the months, so useful to husbandmen, seamen, and almost all others, should be condemned; I can assign no other reason, but that spirit of Superstition, which proceeded so far to abolish all theatrical representations, all musical performances, all joyful anniversary festivals (however regulated and innocent) and all other liberal entertainments, not practis'd by mechanics or beggars.

15. THE *Preaching of PAUL.* *Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 6. Laëtant. l. 4. c. 21.* 'Tis likewise quoted by the anonymous author *de non iterando Baptismo*, inserted by RIGALTIVS in his observations upon Saint CYPRIAN.

16. SAINT PAUL's *narrative concerning the charming of Vipers*, reveal'd to him by St. MICHAEL in a dream. LAMBECIUS says, that there is a Manuscript of this book in the

the Imperial Library. *Biblioth. Vindobon.*
tom. 5. pag. 103.

17. THE *Anabaticon* of PAUL, wherein he relates what he saw, when he was caught up to the third Heavens: tho' in 2 *Cor.* 12. 4. he calls them unspeakable words, and things unlawful or impossible to utter. *Epiphan. Haeres.* 18, n. 38. *Michael Glycas, Annal. part. 2. pag. 120.*

18. SOME wou'd infer from his own words, that PAUL wrote a *Gospel*. *In the day*, says he, *when God shall judge the secrets of men by Christ Jesus, according to my Gospel.* *Rom.* 2. 16. compar'd with *Gal.* 1. 8, 2; and 2 *Tim.* 9.

19. THE *Precepts* of PETER and PAUL I shall mention lower, under the head of *General Pieces*: that is, such as go under the names of all, or more than one of the Apostles; or such as are directed in general, without the name of any author at all.

CHAPTER XV.

BARNABAS.

1. THE *Gospel* of BARNABAS. *Gelasius in Decreto. Indiculus Scripturar. apud Coteler. in Annotat. 1. ad Constitut. Apostolic. In Catal. libror. Apocryph. Baroccian.*
post

post Damascenum de mensibus Macedonum.

This Gospel of BARNABAS is still Extant, but interpolated by the Mahometans. There's but one copy of it in Christendom, accidentally discover'd by me at Amsterdam in the year 1709, and now in the Library of his most serene Highness Prince EUGENE of Savoy. But a full account of it is to be had in a volume I have written on this very subject, entitul'd, NAZARENUS, or *Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity*, &c. printed twice at London, in the year 1718.

2. THE *Epistle of BARNABAS.* Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 2, 5. Origen. contra Cels. l. 1. & de Princip. l. 3. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 5. Hieronym. in Catalogo, aliique. But this is not the *Epistle* we have at this day, as these very citations demonstrate.

3. THE *Passion of BARNABAS* by JOHN MARK, is mention'd in cap. 21.

CHAPTER XVI.

JUDAS, EVE, SETH, ABRAHAM, ENOCH, &c.

1. **T**HAT none of the Apostles might be thought unable to write a *Gospel*, we find one alludg'd by the Caijanites (a sect of the Gnostics) under the name of JUDAS *Isca-riot* ;

riot; whom they highly extoll'd for his knowledge of the Truth above the rest of the Apostles, and that therefore he purposely betray'd CHRIST, to perfect the Mystery of our Redemption. *Iren. contra Haeres. l. 1. c. 35. Epiphan. Haeres. 38. n. 1, 2. Theodoret. Haeret. Fab. l. 1. c. 15.*

2. NOR shou'd we wonder at JUDAS's being an Author, when we read of the prophetic *Gospel of EVE*, whom the Gnostics reckon'd a patroness of their opinions; and to have receiv'd extraordinary light and knowledge, in her conference with the Serpent. *Epiphan. Haeres. 26. n. 2, 3, 4, 5.* God, in that *Gospel*, said to her in a voice like Thunder, *I am thou, and thou art I; wherever thou art, there am I, being diffus'd among all things: and, whence soever you will, you gather me; but in gathering me, you gather yourself.* EVE, as we may see, was a great Spinofist.

3. THE Sethians, another sort of Gnostics (for the branches of this trunk were numberless) besides many writings attributed by them to SETH himself, whom they wou'd needs have to be CHRIST, did also show an *Apocalypse* under the name of the Patriarch ABRAHAM: not to mention his learned pieces of Astrology, nor those they father'd upon others, nor yet the books of ADAM formerly believed by the Jews. *Epiphan. Haeres.*

Haeref. 26. n. 8. *Item Haeref.* 30. n. 16. *ac Haeref.* 39. n. 15. *Isidor. Pelusiot. l. 2. Epist.* 99.

4. THE *Prophecy of ENOCH*, which relates the Amours of the Sons of God with the Daughters of Men (or of ever-sprightly Angels and beautiful young Damsels) is a great part of it still extant; and was believ'd genuine by several of the *Fathers*, who alledge it in defence of the Christian Religion: as *Origen. contra Cels. l. 5. Idem de Princip. Tertul. de habitu muliebri, c. 3, &c.*

5. THE *Testament of the twelve Patriarchs*, the *Assumption of MOSES*, the *Testament of the same*, the *Prophecy of LAMECH*, the *Prayer of JOSEPH*, the *Book of ELDAD and MEDAD*, the *Psalms of King SOLOMON*, the *Anabaticon or Vision of ISAIAH*, the *Revelation of ELIAS*, the *Revelation of ZEPHANY*, the *Revelation of ZACHARY*, the *Revelation of EZRA*, and such others, of which an account may be seen in the *Codex Apocryphus veteris Testamenti* of FABRICIUS. But I forget that I am in this CATALOGUE reciting the spurious books of the Christians, and not of the Jews, who were very near as fertil and expert in forgeries. Nor ought we to be careless in distinguishing those Books, that were falsely father'd upon the Jews by the Christians, the better to bring them over (of which pious frauds the *Anabaticon of ISAIAH*,
with

with the *Testament of the twelve Patriarchs*, are manifest examples) from the Apocryphal books of the Jews themselves, some of which are very ancient.

CHAPTER XVII.

GENERAL PIECES.

1. **T**HE Gospel of the twelve Apostles. Origen. *homil.* 1. in *Luc.* Hieronym. in *Praefat. ad Mat.* Item, contra Pelagian. l. 3. Ambros. *Prooem. Comment. in Luc.* Theophylact. *Comment. in Luc. c. 1. ver. 1.* Beda *initio Comment. in Luc.* But this book is only general in the Title, and was, I believe, originally the same with

2. THE Gospel of the Hebrews. Ignat. in *Epist. ad Smyrnaeos*, c. 3. Papias apud Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* l. 3. c. 39. Clem. Alex. *Stromat.* l. 1, 2, 5. Origen. *tract.* 8. in *Mat.* Idem, *homil.* 15. in *Jerem.* & in *Comment. ad Joan.* tom. 2. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* l. 3. c. 27. & alibi. Epiphan. *Haeres.* 30. *passim.* Hieronym. in *Catalogo & aliàs saepissimè.* Tit. Bostrenf. *Comment. in Luc.* This Gospel several have maintained (tho erroneously) to be the Original of MATTHEW; as it is expressly the opinion of IRENEUS, *adversus Haeres.* l. 3. c. 11. and of EPIPHANIUS, *Haeres.* 29. n. ult.

3. I am persuaded it was the same which was commonly call'd *the Gospel of the Nazarens* or Ebionites, who were the Jewish or very first Christians; and therefore Dr. MILL, Dr. GRABE, and others, have declar'd their opinion, that it might be one of those mention'd by LUKE, and so written before our present *Gospels* by the eye and ear-witnesses of CHRIST.

4. THIS book was also call'd *the Gospel of the Syrians*. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* l. 4. c. 22. Hieronym. in *Catal. & adversus Pelagian.* l. 3. c. 1. THEODORET (*Haeret. fab.* l. 2. c. 2.) positively attributes this *Gospel of the Nazarens* to PETER, as being the Apostle of the Circumcision: if his meaning be not rather, that the Nazarens made use of PETER'S GOSPEL, mention'd before, as well as of *the Gospel of the Hebrews*? And were they ex-
rant, 'tis possible they wou'd appear to be all but one and the same book. It admits of a doubt, whether JUSTIN MARTYR has quoted *the Gospel of the twelve Apostles* as authentic, in his *Dialogue with TRYPHON*.

5. THE *Gospel of the Egyptians*. Clem. *Roman. Epist.* 2. ad Corinth. c. 12. Clem. *Alex. Stromat.* l. 3. Origen. *homil.* 1. in Luc. Epiphan. *Haeres.* 62. n. 2. Hieronym. in *Prooem. Comment. super Mat. Tit. Bostrensf. Comment. in Luc: & Theophylact. ad eundem*
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dem Evangelistam. Dr. GRABE, and others, were of the mind, that this *Gospel of the Egyptians* (no less than that of *the Hebrews*) was written before LUKE's; and therefore older than those in our Canon. The Fragments of it are as enigmatical and obscure as those of the Philosopher HERACLITUS.

6. THE *Apostles Creed* I may fairly reckon among these Pieces. Of late years it begins to be call'd in question with more accuracy of Criticism, than before. Every one may have ample satisfaction in this matter by perusing *the History of the Creed*, by the noblest learned, than modest and judicious, Sir PETER KING, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas: as also by reading VOSSIUS (who wrote long before) *of the three Creeds*; and TENTZELIUS's *Exercitation* upon that of the Apostles. I have likewise written a *Dissertation* upon this Subject myself, which I lent to a Gentleman who dy'd without restoring it to me; and perhaps he lent it to some of his friends (for I have yet no account of it from his Executors) which will make me more difficult about my own, or other Manuscripts, for the future. In all these Pieces it is (among other things common to them all, and peculiar to each) clearly demonstrated, that the *Creed* was neither compos'd by the Apostles, nor all at once by any others; but that it grew to its present form by degrees, and upon various

rious occasions, there specify'd, especially in Sir PETER KING's History.

7. THE *Doctrine and Constitution* (not Constitutions) of the Apostles. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Athanas. in Synopsi S. Scripturar. Epiphan. Haeres. 45. n. 2, 3. Haeres. 70. n. 10, 14. Haeres. 75. n. 6. & Haeres. 80. n. 75. Idem in compendiaria fidei Expositione. Incertus de Aleatoribus inter Scripta Cypriani.

8. THERE are Διδαχαί and Διδασκαλίαι, or *Doctrines* and *Instructions*, as well as Κεϋύματα and Παράδοσις, or *Preachings* and *Traditions*, attributed both to every one almost of the Apostles singly, and also to their Companions and Successors. These Doctrines were usually bound with the other books of the *New Testament*, as appears by the *Stichometry* of NICEPHORUS, and by such other Indexes of the *Scriptures*. Yet it was not always pretended that they were original Pieces, but rather Collections of what the Companions and Successors of the Apostles either heard, or pretended to hear, from their own mouths. It is observ'd by the best Critics, that most, if not all of those Doctrines, are comprehended in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (of which book in the following Article) since the greatest part of the Fragments, or Remains, of the lost *Doctrines*, agree with the Contents of these same *Constitutions*.

9. WE need not produce our Authors either for the *Canons* or *Constitutions of the Apostles*, since they are almost unanimously admitted by the Greeks; and that so many learned Members, both of the Churches of England and of Rome, have written large volums to prove these (especially the *Canons*) if not genuine, yet of very great authority. We must however remark, that EPIPHANIUS in particular, quotes the *Constitution*, not the *Constitutions*, as Canonical; *Haeref.* 45. *n.* 5; and elsewhere, as you find him cited in article 7. of this Chapter. Indeed he uses the plural number in *Haeref.* 89. *n.* 7; where he reckons them divinely inspir'd: and proves from thence, that we should not cut our beards, nor let our hair grow long, this being a grave apostolic ordinance; tho not observ'd by Mr. WHISTON, the most declar'd advocate of these Constitutions. But there's demonstration, that the *Constitutions* quoted by EPIPHANIUS, are not the same with those we have at this day; being in certain things, as in the observation of Easter for one, quite contrary one to another. This CATALOGUE is not the place to examine, what the defenders of the *Canons* and *Constitutions* of the APOSTLES answer to the objection of their so late appearance in the world, and to some other exceptions against their genuineness or authority: for I must beg Mr. WHISTON's pardon, whom I honor for his Learning and firmness

firmness of mind, if I think not so highly of 'em as he professes to do.

10. THE *Precepts of PETER and PAUL*, and, I suppose, of some other Apostles: for this seems as general, as their *Doctrines, Preachings, or Traditions*. This book lies in Manuscript in the Great Duke's Library in Florence, if we believe LUDOVICUS JACOBUS *a Sancto Carolo*, in his *Bibliotheca Pontificia*, l. 1. pag. 177. Perhaps it is the same (as I said) with the *Preaching of PETER and PAUL*: for they are so often confounded together, that I am apt to think they were not two books.

11, THE present Coptic Christians have a book of *Doctrines*, which they believe was compos'd by the twelve Apostles, with the special assistance of Saint PAUL, &c. *Ludolf. Comment. ad Hist. Aethiopic. pag. 334, 236.*

12. THE *Gospel of Perfection*. An admirable Title! for the very sake of which, I wish it were extant. But EPIPHANIUS, who saw it, says *it was the perfection of sorrow; for that the whole perfection of Death was contain'd in that off-spring of the Devil, Haeres. 26. n. 2.* I have given reasons elsewhere, how little we ought to rely on the judgment or veracity of this Father: and here I think it a fit place to observe, that Mr. SYKE, knowing nothing belike of this book, has

B b 3

wrong

Wrong translated it *the Perfect Gospel*; *fecit-que Dominus JESUS plurima in Aegypto miracula, quae neque in Evangelio Infantiae, neque in Evangelio perfecto, scripta reperiuntur.* pag. 71.

13. *THE Gospel of Truth*: A better Title still! tho IRENEUS, whose authority I value as little as that of EPIPHANIUS, affirms that it agreed in nothing with *the Gospels of the Apostles.* *Adversus Haeres.* l. 3. c. 11. This was likewise call'd the *Gospel of VALENTINE.* *Ibid.*

14. *THE Acts of all the Apostles*, written by themselves, principally receiv'd by the Ebionites. *Epiphan. Haeres.* 30. n. 16. *Theodoret. Haeret. fab.* l. 3. c. 4. *Varadatus in Epist. ad Leonem. Imp. in Concil. Labb. tom. 4. col. 978.* *Jo. Malala, Chronograph.* l. 10.

15. *THE Acts of the Apostles* by ABDIAS, the pretended first Bishop of Babylon, is a pretty modern imposture; and long preceded by *the Acts of the Apostles according to LEUCIUS*, whereof AUGUSTINE, *lib. de fide contra Manichaeos, cap. 38.*

16. THERE were *Acts or Journeys* of the Apostles extant in PHOTIUS's time, compos'd by one LEUCIUS CHARINUS, a fam'd Impostor, of whom before. This book contain'd

tain'd the most childish and ridiculous things in the world: particularly, that there would be a Resurrection of Cows and Horses, as well as of Men and Women. *In Biblioth. cod. 114.*

17. THE *Lots of the Apostles* are mention'd in the *Decree of GELASIUS*; and a book under this title is publish'd *inter Miscellanea Ecclesiastica Posthuma Petri Pithoei.*

18. THE *Praise*, or *Panegyric, of the Apostles*, is mention'd in the same *Decree of GELASIUS*; and, in some copies of it, *the Passions of the Apostles.*

19. THE *Memoire of the Apostles*, reckon'd a most blasphemous piece by *TURIBIUS Asturicensis*, in *Epist. ad Idacium & Cesonium, inter Epistolas Leonis Magni apud Paschasium Quesnellum. Item. Paul. Oros. in Commonitor. de erroribus Priscillianistarum & Origenistarum.*

20. THE *Itinerary of all the Apostles*, as well as of every one of 'em singly, was formerly extant, as more than once hinted.



CHAPTER XVIII.

Disciples and Companions of the Apostles.

OF the books ascrib'd to the Disciples and Companions of the APOSTLES, and which are still extant (for we have nam'd a sufficient number of extinct Pieces) some are thought genuin and of great authority at this time; every one was approv'd at some time, or by some party: and yet I am of opinion, that it is the easiest task in the world (next to that of showing the ignorance and superstition of the writers) to prove them all spurious, and fraudulently impos'd on the credulous. Those I principally mean, are, 1. The two Epistles of CLEMENS ROMANUS *to the Corinthians*, his *Recognitions*, *Decretals*, and all other pieces bearing his name. 2. All the *Epistles of* IGNATIUS, of what stamp or edition soever. 3. The *Epistle of* POLYCARPUS *to the Philippians*; not to insist on his other writings long since lost, of which yet I judge by what is preserv'd. 4. The *Acts of the Martyrdom of* IGNATIUS *and* POLYCARPUS. 5. The *Pastor of* HERMAS. 6. The *Epistle of* BARNABAS, together with his *Gospel*, of which before: And 7. The works of DIONYSIUS *the Areopagite*. Let us add to these, tho at no time near so much esteem'd, 8. The

8. The *Epistle of MARCELLUS* (PETER's Disciple) to NEREUS and ACHILLEUS, and his treatise of the conflict of PETER and SIMON MAGUS: he has given a relation of the death of PETRONILLA, PETER's daughter; and of the passion of FELICULA, both virgins. 9. The *Life of JOHN* by PROCHORUS (mention'd before) one of the seven Deacons, and cousin to Saint STEPHEN. 10. The *Petition of VERONICA to Herod*, on the behalf of CHRIST. 11. The *Passion of TIMOTHY* by POLYCRATES. 12. The *Passions of PETER and PAUL*, in two books by LINUS. 13. The *two Epistles of MARTIAL of Limousin*; and 14. The *Life of the same* by AURELIANUS. 15. The *History of the Apostolical conflict* by ABDIAS, mention'd before. 16. The *Passion of Saint ANDREW*, written by the Presbyters of Achaia. 17. The *Epistle of EUODIUS*, entitul'd, *the Light*. 18. The anonymous Historian of the Evangelist MARK, of whom above; as also, 19. of JOHN MARK of the *passion of BARNABAS*. 20. The *Acts of TITUS*, compos'd by ZENA St. PAUL's companion. 21. The *Acts of CRATO*. 22. PHILALETES EUSEBIANUS of the *Passions of CHRIST*; and 23. MELITO of the *virtues of the Apostles*: with a multitude of other *Acts, Martyrdoms, Passions, Legends, and Menologies*, which, because confessedly modern, are nothing to our purpose. 24. The *Revelation of STEPHEN*: 25. The *Attercation of JASON and PAFISCUS*; with, 26. The *Epistles of JOSEPH the Arima-*

Arimathea to the Britons, are absolutely lost; and, were they extant, wou'd probably appear to be as foolish and fabulous as the rest.

AS it can't be deny'd, but that NICODEMUS was an acquaintance of the Apostles; so this is the proper place to mention, 27. his *Gospel*. By several passages it seems to be an imposture of the fifth century; and there's a very comical account given in it, of the descent of CHRIST into hell; how the Devils barricado'd that infernal prison, with their other preparations to keep him out; in what manner the *Old Testament* Saints within knew of the approach of their deliverer, and what a terrible mutiny they rais'd against the Devils to betray the place to him; and finally how JESUS broke open those adamantine bars, the whole farce (for it is no other) being carry'd on in Scripture-phrase, and pretended to be reveal'd by CHARINUS and LENTHIUS, two of those that are said to have come out of their graves at the Resurrection of CHRIST. These names seem to be borrow'd from LEUCIUS CHARINUS, of whom more than once before.

I cannot forbear remembring in this place, from the affinity of the Subject, 28. the *Eternal Gospel*, which, about the middle of the thirteenth century, was forg'd and publish'd by the mendicant Fryers, as the perfecters (forsooth)

(forsooth) of God's Economy. See concerning it MATTHEW PARIS, in the year 1257.

CHAPTER XIX.

Heathen Books forg'd to propagate Christianity.

I HAVE taken notice, in the 5th Article of the 16th Chapter, of books that were publish'd under the names of remarkable Persons in the *Old Testament*, in favor of CHRIST and the Christian Religion. But as if neither by those, nor by others mention'd hitherto in this CATALOGUE, the Cause cou'd be sufficiently secur'd; they did also feign books, to serve the same purpose, under the names of the Heathens, some of which are as follows :

1. THE Works of TRISMEGISTUS, which, if not altogether forg'd by Christians, are so much interpolated by them, that there's no distinguishing the genuin from the spurious parts. They are extant in Greec, and in many Translations. But as for the Dialogue, entitul'd ASCLEPIUS, extant only in Latin, said to be the Translation of APULEIUS, 'tis plainly of heathen original, and contains many noble footsteps of the antient Philosophy.

2. THE Books of ZOROASTER and HYSTASPES. Tho the Greec of these is lost, yet

yet Dr. HYDE, in his *History of the Religion of the ancient Persians*, has publish'd to the world, that he had them in the ancient Persian language, in which they were originally written. But whether in their original purity, or interpolated, we know not; tho more probably the last, by reason of certain Prophecies concerning the MESSIAH, promis'd by the Doctor in his very title-page.

3. THE *Sibylline Oracles*, cited so frequently, and with such authority by the primitive Fathers, both Grec and Latin, that CELSUS takes occasion from thence to nickname the Christians *Sibyllists*. *Origen. contra Cels. l. 5.* They are extant, such as some Christians have made them: but the grossness of the Imposture has been abundantly expos'd by many able pens, tho several of late (among whom Mr. WHISTON) have endeavor'd to retrieve the credit of some of them; which they distinguish in a manner that exact Criticism will not bear, from those much more numerous, which they confess to be manifestly suppositions.

4. THE *Epistle of LENTULUS*, a Roman Senator, giving a description of the Person of CHRIST. It is extant, with several various Readings; and was formerly in high credit with the Quakers, who found that it exactly resembl'd JAMES NAILER.

5. THE

5. THE *Letters of PONTIUS PILATE to TIBERIUS*, with TIBERIUS's *Answer*, and the *Speech of TIBERIUS to the Senate*, about receiving CHRIST among the Gods. These, with another book, call'd *the Acts of PILATE*, are all extant: but so full of Inconsistencies, Anachronisms, Fables, and Absurdities of all sorts; that it may well bear a dispute who were the most stupid, the forgers or the believers of these Pieces. Yet so great was their success, that the Heathens, in the reign of MAXIMIN, did oppose to them other *Acts of PILATE*, full of blasphemies against CHRIST: and MAXIMIN not only order'd them to be publish'd every where, but also to be learnt by boys at school. This we are told by EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccles. l. 9. c. 5*; and by NICEPHORUS, *Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 26*. They were in all probability as false and fabulous, as the Christian ones; which last impos'd too much upon JUSTIN MARTYR and TERTULLIAN, or were by them deceitfully impos'd upon others. They both of 'em confidently refer to them: the first in his *first Apology*, and the second in his *Apologetic*. EUSEBIUS likewise speaks favorably of them in his *Chronicle*, and in his *Ecclesiastical History*, *l. 2. c. 2*; and EPIPHANIUS, *Haeref. 5. n. 1*.

6. THE *Epistles, Rescripts, or Orders of ADRIAN, ANTONINUS PIUS, and MARCUS AURELIUS*, in favor of the Christians (evidently

convicted of forgery by TANAQUIL FABER and others) are extant in JUSTIN MARTYR.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the Gospels of VALENTINE, BASILIDES, MARCION, APPELLES, CERINTHUS, TATIAN, and others.

I DOUBT not but by this time the Reader thinks I am at the end of my CATALOGUE; but his curiosity must animate his patience a little longer: for altho it consists already of nineteen Chapters, there must still be this one more to make it complete.

IN the seventeenth Chapter we took notice of *the Gospel of VALENTINE*: and the other Gnostics, according to (1) EPIPHANUS, had a numerous tribe of divine Books, among which *Jadalbaoth* was not in their eyes the least valuable. BASILIDES also wrote his own *Gospel*, as (2) ORIGEN, in concert with other writers, does assert. Yet by the phrase of BASILIDES'S *Gospel*, they meant perhaps his *Commentaries*: for, whether it were upon his own or upon some other, he wrote no fewer than twenty four books of *Commentaries on*

(1) Haeretic. 26. n. 8.

(2) Proem. in Luc. Item tractat. 26. in Mat.

the Gospel; together with his Prophets BARCABBAS and BARCOPH OF PARCHOR:

I take *the Gospel of MARCION*, the *Gospel of APPELLES*, and those of some other reputed Heretics mention'd by the Fathers, to have been their Editions or Interpolations of other *Gospels*, rather than original compositions of their own.

NOR do I believe CERINTHUS had a peculiar *Gospel*, as EPIPHANIUS (3) doubtingly intimates; who is further at a loss whether MERINTHUS and he were two, or one and the same person: tho 'tis a thousand to one, that MERINTHUS never existed. I doubt not for my part, but CERINTHUS and his companions us'd *the Gospel of the Hebrews*, as did likewise the Carpocratians: for both these were but subdivisions of the Nazarens or Ebonites, the Fathers loving to multiply Sects as well as *Gospels*; and dubbing every man the head of a party, who made any new discovery, or had any private opinion, tho agreeing in all things else with his Church or Society. He has observ'd nothing, who has not observ'd this to be their temper and practice.

THE Encratites, another branch from the Nazaren stock, did, together with the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, make use also of TATIAN'S

(3) Haer. 51.

Gospel; which was compil'd out of our four receiv'd *Gospels*, or out of some other four, by way of *Harmony*: that is, by variously omitting, adding, transposing, interposing, joining, and disjoining. From its four Elements (as we may say) TATIAN's *Gospel* was call'd *Diateffaron*. EPIPHANIUS (who confounds every thing, *Gospels* and men) mistakes it (4) for the just nam'd *Gospel of the Hebrews*, as he took this latter for that of MATTHEW. So he says that the Ebionites or Nazarens, and CERINTHUS a great man among them, left out (5) of their *Gospel* the Genealogy of CHRIST; and yet, in the very same discourse, he affirms (6) that not only CERINTHUS, but likewise CARPOCRAS (another Ebionite of distinction) wou'd prove by this very Genealogy, that CHRIST was the Son of JOSEPH and MARY. But he was not the only person among the Orthodox, on whom TATIAN impos'd: for THEODORET assures us, that his *Gospel* deceiv'd a world of people; and that he had himself remov'd (7) above 200 of them out of Churches, placing others in their stead.

THE Manicheans had their *living Gospel*: and the followers of SIMON MAGUS (whom I ought to have nam'd first) had, besides other

(4) Haeref. 30. n. 13.

(5) Haeref. 28. n. 5. & Haeref. 30. n. 3, 13.

(6) Ibid. n. 13.

(7) Haeref. fabul. l. 1. c. 20.

Scriptures, *four Gospels* very different from ours.

THERE was in the second Century one LEUCIUS, often already named, that distinguish'd himself far above all the rest, in forging or falsifying such Books. He was a Priest, and had a great many Names besides that of LEUCIUS ; as SELEUCUS, LEONTIUS, LUCIANUS, LEUTICIUS or LENTICIUS, and so on, some of which were probably but corruptions of his true name by Transcribers. He publish'd Books not only under the names of MATTHEW, JAMES, PETER, and JOHN ; but likewise many under that of PAUL, whom he particularly affected. He made *Acts* and *Passions* of the Apostles, a *Nativity of the Virgin MARY* : and, in concert with one HESYCHIUS another Priest, he falsify'd many *Gospels* ; as JEROM witnesses in his *Preface to the Gospels*, and for which GELASIUS, in his *Decree*, calls him *the Disciple of the Devil*. You may also consult about him, among many others, AUGUSTINE in his book of *the Faith against the Manicheans*, as well as in the second book of *Transactions with FELIX* of the same sect, and PHOTIUS in the 114th book of his *Library*.

SIMON and CLEOBULUS made several books under the names of CHRIST and his Apostles,

as we learn from the 16th Chapter of the 6th book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

THE Helcefaites had a Book, which (as we are inform'd by (8) EUSEBIUS and by (9) THEODORET) they pretended was *fallen down from heaven*, just as the Turks speak of their *Alcoran*.

INNOCENT the first, in his 3^d *Letter to* EXUPERIUS, assures us, that the Philosophers NEXOCHARIDAS and LEONIDAS forg'd Books under the name of ANDREW and others.

BUT, to take one huge leap over the monstrous and infinite impostures down from the fourth Century to this day (excepting that only whereof I am going to speak) it is not yet 200 years since the Jesuit XAVIER impos'd for *Gospel* on his Persian Converts, a *History of CHRIST* of his own framing, very different in many things from the Books of the *New Testament*; and containing the grossest fables, innovations and superstitions, of Popery, as if expressly taught by CHRIST and his APOSTLES. After this book had been brought to Europe, it was translated into Latin, and the fraud expos'd to all the world by LUDOVICUS DE DIEU, a Professor at Leyden, incomparably skilful in the oriental

(8) Hist. Eccles. l. 6. c. 38.

(9) Haeret. fabul. l. 2. c. 7.

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languages. To the same volume our Jesuit did join, out of profound respect to the Roman Pontif and Hierarchy, a most romantic *History of PETER*, Prince of the Church, and proto-parent of the Popes, with which extraordinary Piece I end this CATALOGUE.



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THE



THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
South-Sea Scheme*.

Introduction.

AN Act having past last Session of Parliament for vesting the Estates of all the Directors, without any distinction, in Trustees for the benefit of the South Sea Company; these Memoirs are made public to bring to light the dark contrivances of those men, who were the cause of all the misfortunes which attended the amazing execution of the Scheme, which cannot be extenuated, nor any other way excus'd. But 'tis hoped it may appear by this Discourse that the artifices of the Decemvirs, or at least of the principal of them, were so deeply laid, the measures for compassing their ends so cunningly taken, and the whole executed with that premeditated precipitancy and confusion (the surest method for preventing circumspection or examination) that it was not

* This Piece is not Mr. Toland's, but it was found among his MSS, and is enlarged and corrected throughout with his own hand.

not possible for the well-meaning Directors to oppose the torrent so effectually, as to prevent the ill effects of those impositions, which were so magisterially put upon them. This will not appear improbable, far less incredible, if it be particularly considered, that whilst these things were transacting, the Decemvirs were the idols of the people; and, as the distributors of those fancy'd blessings they were showing upon them, little less than ador'd. Every body remembers this so well, that there needs no further proof of it; no more than that the other Directors were look'd upon as cyphers, and men that had no share in the honor. Many therefore are inclined to believe, that since a distinction there was between the Directors, (which will appear undeniably by the sequel), if there had been a distinction likewise in censuring them, and that the Punishment had extended no farther than to the authors of the mischief, by making the plunder to be restored, and the unjust gains to be refunded; that if the old Estates, they had before the Scheme, had been left to the Directors who behaved themselves honestly: it had, it is humbly conceived, been neither disagreeable to the rules of justice, nor displeasing to the reasonable part of mankind; and perhaps had brought as much money into the Company's coffers, at least with more certainty and speed, than this severity used against them all without distinction, is likely to do. What weight or justice there may be in this, will

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appear

appear from the following account of the whole; in which some will perhaps be surpriz'd, or perhaps angry, to find certain persons otherwise represented, than they conceived, or else wish'd 'em to be: but the Author of it has taken a resolution from the beginning, not to gratify the passions or resentments of others, no more than his own; and to say neither less nor more, than he really believes to be Truth.

THE SECRET HISTORY, &c.

IN the beginning of the year 1719, the South-Sea Company undertook to take in, and add to their Stock, the Lottery of 1710: and altho' the whole was not subscribed, yet the design succeeded so far, as that the Company got 70000 l. and the Government about 200000 l. by the undertaking. This success gave thoughts of doing something of the like nature, the next Session of Parliament. But the progress of the Mississippi Company about that time having intoxicated, and turned the brains of most people, APPIUS's mind was thereby wonderfully affected, and from his natural inclination to Projects, so inflamed, that he could brook no longer the narrow thoughts he had entertained before, of engaging for one or two branches of the public Funds only; but carried on his views for taking in at once all the national Debts, the Bank and East India Company included: often saying, "That as Mr. LAW had taken his pattern from
" him,

“ him, and improved upon what was done
 “ here the year before in relation to the Lot-
 “ tery of 1710, he would now improve up-
 “ on what was done in France, and out-do
 “ Mr. LAW.” Unhappy Emulation! for any
 hook, artfully cover’d with such a tempting bait,
 was sure to be swallow’d. To put his concep-
 tions in a method of being understood, he con-
 sulted the Treasurer of the Company, and ano-
 ther person who was vulgarly reputed to have
 studied the black art, his near relation and bosom
 friend, and who was then chief Accountant to the
 Company. Nor was it absurdly imagin’d of the
 town, to take a man for a Negromancer, Conju-
 rer, or what you please more artful, who cou’d
 bring his horses to eat gold, when they did
 not like hay; and from a grinder of Coffee
 so to order his affairs, that a noble Duke and
 a Marquis thought it an honor to support
 him under each arm, being cripp’d with the
 gout, and to help him into his coach with
 most profound respect. *O tempora! O mores!*
 With the help of the Treasurer and this same
 Mephostophilus, APPIUS form’d that famous
 Scheme, which has since proved so fatal, and
 brought so much uneasiness upon the Nation.
 He had no sooner got his Scheme ready, but
 he made application to the prime Minister,
 by means of a person who had free access to
 him: but whether his Lordship disliked the
 Projector or the Project, he would not see
 APPIUS, and referred him to the Chancellor
 of the Exchequer. This is certain fact. AP-

PIUS's high spirit could not well digest being thus treated, and said that his Scheme was of such importance that it ought to be communicated to none but the King himself or his prime Minister. However being unwilling to lose the fruits of his labour, and having some acquaintance with one of the Secretaries of State, who had been at the head of the Treasury, he went to his Lordship and shew'd him the Scheme : but meeting there with several objections, and a dislike of the whole in the main, APPIUS found himself under a necessity either of going to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or of laying aside all thoughts of his Project. Former occurrences not having left those two gentlemen cordial friends, he took with him the Treasurer, and Mr. H. one of the Directors who was much in the Chancellor's favour ; and after several meetings having got over some difficulties, which were thrown in his way by another Society, that narrowly watched his steps, the Scheme was entertained, and opened to the House of Commons in the manner every body knows : three Millions being offered without the consent of the general Court, or the knowledge of the Court of Directors ; a presumption perhaps not to be parallel'd in any past transaction, but perfectly of a piece with APPIUS's future conduct in the management of that important affair. The Bank having thought fit to interpose, and to bid more than the Chancellor had offered, APPIUS re-

solving

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solving to stick at nothing to carry his point, got an order of Court to leave it to the Sub and Deputy Governors to offer what they should think fit; who having bid seven Millions and a half; the House of Commons accepted their Proposal.

THERE were not those wanting at that time amongst the Directors, and also amongst those in a higher station, who thought that undertaking too bold for any society; and that instead of a sum certain, it had been better and safer to proceed in the same manner as the year before, viz. that the government should have a share of the profit which might accrue by the undertaking, as, suppose, two thirds or three fourths. By this method no gain of the Company, tho' ever so great, could have been invidious, since the public would have had the greatest share: the Government and the Company being united in interest, the Scheme in all events would have been supported: and persons of consequence, and experienced in affairs of a higher nature, would have been join'd in commission for the due executing of it. But this did not suit with the inclinations and views of some men, whose aim was to ingross to themselves the power of executing the Scheme, which they believed they had craft enough to compass, if it was left to the management of the Court of Directors. Therefore in due time they procured a Commissi-

on,

on, unknown to the other Directors, constituting the one and thirty of that Court to be Trustees and Managers for taking in the public Debts: which was, in effect, giving the sole power to six or seven of them; as they who know any thing about a Court of Directors, will readily own.

IN consequence of the Proposal made in the name of the Company, and accepted by the House of Commons, a Bill was ordered to be brought in; and APPIUS got a Committee appointed, as is usual for all Companies in such cases to do, *for taking care that the Bill should be conformable to the Proposal*: for this is precisely all that ever was or could be intended by *taking care of the Bill*, as it was commonly worded; and not that the Committee should use all ways and means, Bribery not excepted, to have it pass'd. In this sense the Court of Directors never understood it, and therefore the Committee proving too numerous for APPIUS, more being named than he intended; and there being some amongst them, whom he knew were not to be brought into his measures: he proposed, under pretence of secrecy, that it should be left to the Sub and Deputy-Governors to *take care of the Bill*, (viz. that the Bill, as has been said already, should be agreeable to the Proposal) with the advice of such of the Directors as they should think fit. This the Court of Directors unwarily came into,

into, having an intire confidence in those two gentlemen, whose reputation was then clear and unblemish'd. But such an unadvised concession laid the foundation of all the future incroachments upon the Court of Directors themselves: for no sooner was this point gained, but APPIUS thinking it a fit opportunity to usurp a power for ever, which was only granted for a time, work'd upon the Sub and Deputy-Governors to extend this concession to the whole Scheme; and to constitute by their own authority, and without acquainting the Court of Directors with it, a Cabinet Council, as it may very justly be call'd, which should concert and direct all the affairs of the Company in relation to the Scheme. This Council was made up of the Sub and Deputy Governors, APPIUS, Mr. C Mr. G Mr. H and the Treasurer, who acted with them as Secretary. This last, upon his examination * on the 21st of January, which was the day he went away, own'd the truth of this, and acquainted the Secret Committee, that the Sub and Deputy-Governors, with the advice of such Directors as they should think fit, had the direction of the Scheme, and that those gentlemen they consulted with, were Sir J. B. Mr. C . . . Mr. G . . . and Mr. H . . . But besides this cabinet Council, APPIUS secured to his particular interest, Mr. H , and Mr. S two of the Di-

* In p. 11. of the printed *Report*.

rectors of the Treasury, and the chief Accountant ; and at the head of these ten, who were all subservient to his designs, he governed afterwards according to his will and pleasure all the affairs of the Company.

NOT unlike to APPIUS (as was said before) and the Decemviri of old, who being appointed with a Dictatorial power for compiling and reducing into ten Tables, the Laws which were brought from Greece ; and having once got possession, attempted to make their power perpetual. Nay, they actually kept it, till by their unjust and violent proceedings, they had almost overturned the Commonwealth : and enraged the people to that degree, that they constrained APPIUS, the head of those Decemvirs, to kill himself in prison, and by his death an end was put to the tyranny.

THE first thing our APPIUS did, after he had settled his Decemvirate, was to take effectual care of securing the passing of the Bill (instead of seeing that the Bill was answerable to the Proposal) in order to which, the sale of the fictitious Stock was thought of, as the most effectual way to bring it about. But they are much mistaken, who think that the whole 574500 l. were distributed amongst Lords or Members of Parliament for that purpose. They may take it for granted, that APPIUS and his Colleagues took a good share of it for themselves,

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selves, when they saw the price of Stock advance ; and sold it afterwards at a proper time, which enabled them to pay the difference according to their engagements, without charging the Company with it. As they intended to conceal this transaction, and to keep it from the knowledge of all others as long as they could, they postponed laying before the Committee of Treasury the entry in the Cash Book, relating to the sale of that stock, till the beginning of June, which was full two months after it was done ; so that they had time enough to encrease it at their pleasure.

BY this entry in the Cash Book it did not appear, to whom the stock was sold ; neither did they deliver any account thereof to the Committee of Accounts, as is usual : for the Committee of Treasury has nothing to do with the examining of Accounts (which was unfortunately understood to be otherwise, by some Gentlemen in an eminent station) but are only to see that the Cash belonging to the Company be kept right, and that the money be duly paid, when they receive notice of what is to be paid from the Committee of Accounts. And this may be said to the honor of the Committee of Treasury, that, notwithstanding the many irregularities committed by the Treasurer, in matters which were not under their inspection, but were underhand ordered by APPIUS, or the Cabinet

binet Council: they yet had such a watchful eye over him, in what did properly relate to their business, that there was no deficiency in the Cash during all that confused and hasty transaction.

THE very day that the Bill had the Royal Assent, APPIUS began to set his engines at work, in order to a mony Subscription. As this was a new thing, and had never been talk'd of before, he did not think proper to propose it abruptly; but the better to disguise his concerting matters in private, he appointed a meeting of the major part of the Directors, where it was long debated what was fit to be done for supporting the Price of the Stock, which was then falling, whether by artifice or naturally is not well known: and a Subscription being proposed at 300, several of those, who were not in the secret, express their fears of the success of it, especially at so much above the market-price. But when it came to the question, it was easily carried for such a Subscription, as had been agreed before-hand: for some of his Colleagues, the better to bring others into their opinion, said that they were already sure of good sums, and that their friends were fond of it at that rate; which could not have been said, if those friends had not been spoke to before the meeting. This Subscription, taken on the 14th of April, was intended by the Court of Directors for two Millions, and a great

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great deal of pains was taken to keep it to that sum: but the Cabinet Council found means to encrease it to 2250000*l.* and to keep that exceeding for themselves; which, one would think, should exclude others from their punishment in that respect, as it did in their guilt.

THIS succeeding so well, and the price advancing even beyond their expectations, about a fortnight after a Court was called unexpectedly, and APPIUS moved for another Subscription of one Million at 400, and to take it immediately. Several of the Directors, who were not apprized of the matter, begg'd for two or three days time, that they might speak to their friends; but all to no purpose. The Gentlemen of the Cabinet Council were ready, and had taken their measures; if the others were not so, they must be contented with a less sum: and accordingly each Director had, in this second Subscription, taken on the 29th of April, but 26000 *l.* allowed for himself and friends, and his List ordered to be delivered to the Sub-Governor the next day. The remainder, being 246000 *l.* was left to the Sub and Deputy-Governors, to dispose of at their pleasure. The greatness of the sum left to those two Gentlemen was objected against, to which answer was made that they had a great many to oblige. Some time after, the Sub-Governor declared to the Court, that they could not help taking in as far as 1200000 *l.* the

the demand was so great from all the parts of the town ; which the Court readily enough acquiesced in, being sensible that it was so. But they were extremely surpris'd, when some days after, the price being considerably advanced, they heard it declared from the Chair, without any excuse, that the Subscription amounted to 1500000 l. This bold stroke occasioned a great deal of murmuring amongst the Directors. The Subscription Book was called for, to be laid upon the table for the Directors to peruse. But in vain ; no Subscription Book, nor any List of the names of the Subscribers could ever be seen, till the Parliament called for it : and the well-meaning Directors were so little regarded, that they were refused to be admitted to see, if their own names or their friends, for whom they had subscribed, were in the Book. Many of those friends, eager at that time to know what they thought their good fortune, could with difficulty believe such Directors as strove to oblige them : nor were they ever satisfy'd, till the general Inquiry convinc'd them. This insulting and unheard of way of proceeding left no room to doubt, but that these last 300000 l. were kept for the benefit of the Decemviri, and shared amongst them, as the increased 250000 l. in the first Subscription had been : which was so grating upon the minds of the other Directors, that they were once very near resolving to rebel, as they used to express themselves. And in effect they would have done

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done it, had there been any other remedy but calling a General Court, and making there a formal complaint; which they feared would have been ill received at that time, considering the prevailing humour of the town in favour of APPIUS and his Colleagues in the conduct of the Scheme. Nor was such a fear vain or groundless: for the insatiable desire of getting, and the flattering prospect of doing so, with which APPIUS had bewitch'd people by false appearances, were so strong, that he who shou'd dare to oppose him, or to expose his artifices, wou'd have been generally decry'd as an envyer of his parts, an enemy to the Scheme, one that wou'd never have the publick debts discharg'd, and an opposer of the measures of the Government, if not disaffected to it; and 'tis even doubtful, whether he could escape without ill treatment to his person, from more quarters than one. Let people but reflect a little upon the general madness of those days, and they may be safely appeal'd to for the truth of all this. However, the jealousy ran so high, that the Court of Directors came to a resolution to take no more money Subscriptions, and repeated this order three several times. This refractoriness in the Court putting APPIUS to a stand, he judg'd it best to let this humour cool; and therefore he propos'd nothing to the Court for some time, nor was any Committee of Treasury held during five whole weeks. For besides the uneasiness about the

mony subscriptions, there were other causes of discontent amongst the Directors. The subscription of the long Annuities and other irredeemable Debts, had been taken in such a manner, and in so much haste, that it gave a general dissatisfaction; and most of the Directors were not able to prevent several of their friends, from being disoblig'd: another thing about which they can make their Appeal to equitable persons.

THE lending of the money arising by the two money subscriptions was very warmly contended against. Many in the Court declared their opinion, and insisted upon it, that this money should be applied to pay off the Redeemables; and by dint of argument forc'd APPJUS to own, that there was a great deal of reason in what they said: but he answer'd, that he had already taken other measures, and was for following the humour of people, who were fond of the stock at any rate; and that there was no other way to please them, but by giving them stock for their Annuities. Nevertheless, considering this opposition, he thought it his best way to temporize, and to wait for a fitter time to put his further designs in execution: for having the Chair on his side, both in the Court of Directors and in the Committee of Treasury, he could hasten or delay bringing things to a determination, just as he pleased, and
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watch opportunities when opposers were absent.

ANOTHER thing very much mortified the generality of the Directors; which was this. The Cabinet Council kept at first their meetings very private, skulking in some by-place or tavern in the night, and often shifting from one house to another; endeavouring to manage it so, that the Court of Directors should not suspect they acted in concert: and therefore in the debates they would sometimes oppose one another, the better to prevent their confederacy being discovered. But now being grown warm in the saddle, and the applause they met with abroad making them bold at home; they thought it beneath them to put any longer restraint upon their actions; and therefore kept their meetings at the Treasurer's house, on the same day and at the same hour, that the Court of Directors was appointed to meet, which was commonly at ten of the clock in the forenoon. There concerting their measures among themselves, and little regarding the attendance of the other Directors, who waited in the Court-room, they frequently made them stay till twelve or one, and sometimes till two or three a clock, before they came in to keep the court: and after the usual business was dispatch'd, as reading the minutes of the preceeding Courts and Committees, and that Gentlemen were sufficiently tired, then what they had agreed upon

was abruptly proposed, and must be immediately done in a hurry; which was perhaps one of their reasons for making them wait so long. At least it had such an effect. This was their constant way of managing, which made the other Directors almost distracted, and many of them ashamed of sitting amongst them, which they often told their friends.

APPIUS knew that the scene of action would be in the Treasury. But tho' he was sure of the Sub and Deputy-Governors and two more of that Committee; and that the Cashier, Deputy-Cashier, and all the Clerks were intirely at his devotion, as looking upon him to be the man who had the sole direction of the Scheme: yet being sensible, that there were some of that Committee, who would never approve his proceedings; he made it his main study to render them insignificant, and thus he contriv'd it. 'Tis the custom of that Company, that each standing Committee has always one of the Directors for its Chairman, and a certain day in the week is appointed for their meeting. This Chairman takes care to have the minutes entered, and to report the transactions of that Committee, of which he is Chairman, to the Court. The Sub and Deputy-Governors may attend any of these Committees, and take the Chair if they please, which they seldom do; but still the Chairman is the person, who accounts to the Court for the proceedings of his Committee. Now

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the Committee of Treasury, no less than other Committees, was under these restrictions before : but such a regular practice would have proved an obstacle to APPIUS's designs. Wherefore the following methods were contrived by him, to make all opposition, against whatever he intended to accomplish, ineffectual:

First, The Committee could not be summoned but by the Sub or Deputy-Governor's orders, who were namely and in a particular manner made Chairmen of that Committee: which was a manifest innovation.

Secondly, No business relating to the Scheme could be agreed upon or debated, unless both or one of them were present.

Thirdly, No day certain being fixed for meeting, as in this and other Committees before, they had it in their power to call a Committee on a sudden, or to forbear calling any Committee at all ; when any thing had been done by private direction, which they had a mind to conceal, as it was the case in May and July, no Committee having been held during those two months.

Fourthly, When any thing of moment was to be done, care was taken that APPIUS and his Colleagues should be there to give their advice. And this was so constantly the

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practice,

practice, that there never was any thing done relating to the Scheme by the Committee of Treasury, without the assistance (as it was called) of several of the Cabinet Council, who debated and voted as if they had been of that Committee; a thing never done in any other Committee, nor in this, before.

Fifthly, APPIUS contrived so much business for the office, that the Clerk seldom had time to attend the Committee; and the Treasurer generally took the minutes in haste, and upon loose sheets, which was done designedly: that the minutes might be altered according to APPIUS's directions, before they were entered in the Book; for as he was not one of that Committee, he must use stratagems to have things done there according to his own mind.

Sixthly, Altho' he had taken such effectual measures to render insignificant those of that Committee, who were not in his interest; yet he was so jealous of them, that nothing of moment was referred to the Committee of Treasury singly, in the usual manner: but to the Sub and Deputy-Governors by name, and to the Committee of Treasury; a language unknown before, and which seemed needless, since they were both of that Committee. But they had such answers in view, that they thought they could not do too much to secure it; and therefore they con-

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constantly referred every thing, that related to the Scheme, to the Sub and Deputy-Governors, with flatteries and encomiums surpassing all belief; to take off the very thoughts of their attempting to do any thing without their special approbation and consent. For it was APPIUS's master-piece of cunning, to place all the power in the hands of the Sub and Deputy-Governors, of whom the Court of Directors had a good opinion; and he knew that those two Gentlemen were so diffident of their own abilities, that they durst not undertake any thing, without the advice of the Cabinet Council.

HAVING in this manner secured himself against any opposition, that could be made in the Treasury to his designs; he went on boldly in his projected execution of the Scheme. 'Twas his avow'd Maxim, a thousand times repeated, *That the advancing by all means of the price of stock, was the only way to promote the good of the Company*; and he look'd upon those as enemies, who durst say they were of another opinion. After the two first money Subscriptions were taken in, as has been related, APPIUS made a motion to lend out the money that accrued by them: and tho' this motion was vigorously opposed, yet he carried his point for lending. But the Loan was limited to 500000*l.* at 250 per Cent. upon Stock, and no body to borrow above 5000*l.* This regulation was strictly observed by the Com-

mittee of Treasury. The 500000*l.* were lent to indifferent persons, according to that restriction, defeazances ordered to be taken of the Borrowers, and APPIUS desired to see that the defeazances should be proper and in due form. But considering with himself, that this plain and honest way of lending, would not do his business, he did underhand direct the Cashiers to lend more, and to such as were most likely to raise the Stock; which they obsequiously did, without observing any limitation or rule. What's yet more capital, this additional Loan was made, without the knowledge or privity of the Committee of Treasury; and was not entered in the Cash-Book, nor laid before the Committee, 'till a long time after it was done: and probably this was the reason, why no Committee of Treasury was held from the latter end of April, 'till the beginning of June. Some time after this, the Exchequer-Bills for one Million were issued. APPIUS ordered them immediately to be lent, and the Cashiers dispos'd of them in one day, to whom and in such manner as APPIUS directed; without consulting or so much as taking notice of the Committee of Treasury. But as he apprehended, that these Exchequer-Bills would be of great use in business, and return often into the hands of the Company, he got himself appointed one of the Trustees for circulating of them; to the end, that having the direction of these Bills in both places, he might
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the better influence the disposing of them to serve his particular purposes.

ABOUT this time the shutting of the Books for the midsummer Dividend being at hand, APPIUS made a motion in the Court of Directors for a dividend of 10 per Cent. in stock, and to issue warrants for this dividend. It must be owned that there was no great opposition to this motion, he coloured it with so many specious pretences: as, that the old Proprietors had run great hazards in this bold undertaking; that if it had not succeeded, they having engaged to pay seven millions and a half to the Government, would in a manner have been undone; and therefore since Providence had blessed with success, much beyond expectation, their good intentions for the public service, it was but reasonable, they should reap some fruits of it. These and the like arguments persuaded, and this fatal Dividend, which perhaps contributed more to intoxicate the minds of people, than any thing done besides, was agreed to. But the Directors, even those of the Cabinet-Council, were then strangers to the vile inducement which prompted APPIUS to give so large a dividend: for having it in his thoughts from the beginning, to make all the advantage for himself that he could by the Scheme; his Conjuror early after Christmas had by his direction given Premiums for this Midsummer dividend, by which they

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would have got an immense sum, if the Court of Directors, in APPIUS's absence, when he was gone to Tunbridge, had not revoked their order for delivering these dividend warrants, and directed the dividend to be placed to every proprietor's account.

APPIUS, as has been said before, gave way to three several resolutions of the Court of Directors, against taking any more money Subscriptions; but having now rais'd by this great dividend the expectation of people for future ones, and thinking that the jealousy of the Directors against his proceedings was pretty well over, he could contain himself no longer: but of a sudden, when 'twas least expected, (about a week before the Books were shut, when the Treasury-Office was pestered with so much business, that they were afraid all would run to confusion, and the crowd for transferring and accepting so great, that there was no coming at the books without extream difficulty,) then APPIUS proposed to the Sub-Governor, and some other Gentlemen who were with him, a third Subscription, and told him that he must call a Court for that purpose; at which proposal the Sub-Governor and the others being surprized, and saying, that they had told all their friends there would be no Subscriptions, he answered, that he had told the same thing that very morning at Garaway's Coffe-House, but that there must be one now. And reiterating his instances to the Sub-Governor for a Court, he,

he, after some hesitation, consented to call one. Accordingly the next morning it was agreed to take a Subscription at 1000 for three millions, each Director to have for himself and friends 52000 l. to bring in his List the next day at noon, and to deliver it at the table to the Sub-Governor To give a colour for leaving the remainder, which was near 1500000 l. at the disposal of the Sub and Deputy-Governors, it was resolved that no Member of either House of Parliament should be inserted in the Directors Lists, but that the Sub and Deputy-Governors should take care of them. 'Twas begged, and earnestly insisted upon by several of the Directors, to be allow'd some days to speak to their friends, and to make their Lists; but no time could be obtained. APPIUS and his Colleagues were prepared, and did not trouble themselves what difficulties they put upon the others.

THIS great Man was then in the Zenith of his Glory, by having got a Subscription at 1000: application was made to him from all quarters: young Ladies came to his levee to beg Subscriptions, and the pride of the Decemvirs ran so high at that time, that the best men in the land, could scarce be admitted to the speech of them. The Subscribers, even those who were in the Lists of the Secretaries of State, were not admitted for some days to pay their mony; altho' they were told that their names should be struck out of the Lists, if their mony was not then paid.

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The Directors, who were not of the Cabinet, were as much at a loss as others: for the servants had orders not to let them see their own Lists, as entered in the Books, so that they could not tell whether themselves and their friends were in or not; and to the very last they were denied admittance to the Subscription Books, and could never have a sight of them, 'till they were ordered to be laid before both Houses of Parliament. This made many of the Directors then (who did not in the least doubt of being distinguished from those of the Cabinet, in whose guilt they had no hand or share) not sorry to hear of an Inquiry; as hoping to see the pride of their task-masters abated, and their iniquities detected: tho' by the unhappy turn this affair took afterwards, and thro' their want of opportunity to justify their Innocence (in being heard either by themselves or their Council in either House) they have had too much cause since to lament the fatal consequences of this inquiry, wherein they have been equally involv'd with their oppressors. The Premiums on this Subscription advancing, secret orders were given to the Cashiers to enlarge it; and as the premiums rose, the sum did so too: so that at last they rais'd it to five millions, as the Sub-Governor declared to the Court of Directors and the General Court; and the Cashier charged himself with having receiv'd five millions, for the first payment of the third Subscription.

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THE success of this subscription exceeding the hopes of the most sanguin, APPIUS, whose master-piece he and his admirers owned it was, thinking himself no longer bound to keep any measures, he ordered a Loan to be made of the money arising by this Subscription, and the Cashiers lent upwards of three millions in one day, without acquainting the Committee of Treasury with it, according to the custom already introduced: and to keep it the longer concealed from them, there was no Committee of Treasury summoned, during the whole month of July. But the well-meaning Gentlemen of that Committee being sensible, that their money was going in an unaccountable manner, and taking it very ill besides, that they were not so much as spoke to in transactions of this moment, which so nearly concerned them; they made perpetual complaints to the Court of Directors of the irregularity and confusion in the Treasury, and that they were afraid the Company would be great sufferers by it. To all these complaints APPIUS's constant answer was, *The more confusion the better; People must not know what they do, which will make them the more eager to come into our measures; The execution of the Scheme is our business; The Eyes of all Europe are upon us; Both houses of Parliament expect to have it done before their next meeting: and the loss of*
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one million or two is nothing, to the speedy execution of the Scheme.

WHEN the Gentlemen of the Treasury saw that their complaints to the Court of Directors were not minded, they turned their thoughts another way, to endeavour all they could, to put a stop to this growing evil. They represented to their Chairman in what manner their mony was lavish'd, that the Cashiers lent it without bounds or measure; that the Cash was so low, that there was danger of being run a ground, which in an undertaking of so great importance, might prove fatal; and that it was a shame their servants should dispose of every thing as they pleased, without check or controul: therefore they proposed that no mony for the future should be paid by the Cashier, Deputy-Cashier, or any of the Clerks, without an express order in writing, and under the hand of at least three of the Committee of Treasury. These representations were frequently made to the Sub-Governor in the Committee, and were heard with a great deal of patience: for it was that Gentleman's own opinion, that the Cash of the Company ought never to be less than one million or 500000*l.* at the least; and he often complained that they kept him so bare, that he had not the command of one penny of mony. But as he was not his own master, and instead of depending upon his proper judgment, did in every re-

spect follow the dictates and resolutions of APPIUS and the Cabinet-Council, there was no redress till it was too late; and he had not leave to consent to have this safe and honest method put in practice, as long as APPIUS kept any share of authority in the Court of Directors: but as soon as his power was ended by the turn of affairs, and the fall of stock, the Sub-Governor immediately consented to it, and nothing irregular was done in the Treasury-Office since.

APPIUS having got this great Subscription and Loan over, as he wish'd, and having also procured a resolution of the Court of Directors to deliver warrants for the Midsummer Dividend, he thought he had the world in a string, and might be indulged some weeks of recess from business. Accordingly he made preparations for a journey to Tunbridge. But before he went, he concerted matters with his select friends (for he and the Negromancer had a Cabal separate from the Cabinet-Council) for selling a good quantity of Stock. In what splendid equipage APPIUS went to the Wells, what respect was paid him there, with what haughtiness he behaved himself in that place, and how he and his family, when they spoke of the Scheme, called it *our Scheme*, is not the subject of this discourse. There were witnesses enough of their folly. But certain it is, that he wrote every Post to his Brokers, and no sooner was one parcel

parcel of stock disposed of, than he ordered another to be sold. In short, he and his Conjuror went so far, that the other Decemvirs began to perceive his Journey to Tunbridge was a blind, in order to deceive them, and the better to cover the projected sale of his own stock. For APPIUS having by this time sold a great deal, and fearing that one way or other it might come to light at the opening of the Books, resolved to be beforehand with his Colleagues, in case they should find fault with him for selling so much stock; and to that end he made loud complaints, that his sentiments were no longer followed: since the Court of Directors had in his absence revoked the order for delivering out the dividend warrants; and notwithstanding the insolent opposition made to it by the chief accomptant, they ordered the ten per Cent. dividend to be placed to every man's account, according to his proportion of stock; which cut off the hopes of the immense gain APPIUS and his Negromancer had in view, from the premiums they had given for the refusal of these dividend warrants.

SO great a quantity of stock had been sold by APPIUS and his separate cabal, to be delivered at the opening of the Books, that the time drawing near, and mony being scarce, they begun to be in pain, how these bargains should be complied with. APPIUS and his trusty Negromancer therefore set their wits at work, how to provide against this great
evil,

evil, and to supply the buyers with money enough, to enable them to take the stock which they had sold them, and they contrived three ways to bring it about. The first was, to have a fourth money Subscription; in order to which APPIUS wrote from Tunbridge very pressing letters to the Sub-Governor for that Subscription. But that Gentleman having no inclination to any more Subscriptions, nor indeed any body else amongst the Directors, he did not readily obey APPIUS's commands; which as soon as he understood, he came to town on a Sunday in great rage, and appointed a meeting for the next day, where he used the Sub-Governor in a very rough manner: saying among other things, *that he did not know but it might cost him his life, to have left off drinking the waters so abruptly; and that he had rather have given 10000l. than to have come up to town, but that there was a necessity to take another Subscription immediately.* As the Sub-Governor never pretended to understand the Scheme, and so had all along too much depended upon APPIUS's skill in the management of this affair, or perhaps not thinking it proper at that juncture of time to break off entirely with him; he gave way to his sentiments, and called a Court, where it was agreed to take a fourth Subscription: not by way of Lists as the former, but that every body, who could come at the books, might subscribe what he pleas'd, not exceeding 500l. in one name. APPIUS,

knowing what quantity of stock he had sold, did not promote this Subscription with the same intent as the others, to get money by it, but in order to secure his prey : and he was now grown so barefaced in his proceedings, that altho he had obliged each Director by an order of Court, even those who were absent, to take 3000*l.* in this Subscription ; yet he delayed to subscribe himself for some days, and then would subscribe but 500*l.* When several of the Directors told him it was not fair, and that he broke his own rule ; he gave little heed to what they said, and stood to his resolution of subscribing but 500*l.* The world may be left to judge, how hard a case it is, that men who were used in this insolent and fraudulent manner by APPIUS, should nevertheless be censur'd in all respects, as much as himself ; and bear an equal odium, not only of what they oppos'd, but of that which, in some regards, made them greater sufferers than others.

THE money arising by this Subscription, he did not think fit to lend (he had an after-game for a Loan) but he proposed to employ it in buying of stock, to support the price, which begun to sink. There's reason to believe, that this was the last thing concerted in the Cabinet Council. They knew APPIUS had dealt unfairly by them, and cut the grass under their feet ; but they did not know how otherwise to help themselves, but by

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by falling in with him, in advising the buying of stock for the Company's account : for 'tis apparent that most of them took that opportunity to put off a good deal of their own stock, by the hands of the Cashier. And this was APPIUS and his Negromancer's second contrivance to supply the town with money.

THEIR third was so bold an attempt, that it can hardly be believed, tho nothing be more true. Thus it was. Tho the two ways mentioned before had supplied their buyers with a good deal, APPIUS and his Cabal had sold such quantities of stock, that more money was still wanting to take it all up. He therefore tryed the Cabinet Council, whether they would come into his measures of a new way of lending, which he proposed to them; but he found them so averse, that he lost all hopes of bringing them into it: and after many hard words had passed between them upon that account, he left them, and went up stairs into his Negromancer's room, where having acquainted his select friends (none of whom were Directors) with his ill success, they resolved that the Treasurer should give his promissory Notes to deliver the Company's Bonds as soon as they could be got ready, and to lend them for a certain time; and APPIUS took upon him to see it executed. This he did, unknown to the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor,

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Committee of Treasury, or any other of the Directors. The Treasurer, tho sore against his will, to do every body justice (for he thought it was pushing the thing too far) obeyed his commands, so great was still his authority; and issued out the last Monday in August about 1200000l. of these promissory Notes by way of Loan, before any of the Directors came to Town. He was going on in this new way of lending, when the Sub-Governor and some of the Committee of Treasury coming into the office, found all the rooms crouded with people, who came to borrow; at which being extreemly surprized, as knowing nothing of this Loan, they look'd at one another with amazement: and asking the Treasurer how this came about, he told them, that APPIUS would be the ruin of all, and that he did not know where this would stop; for that he had given orders to lend to all those, who should come without any limits. The Sub-Governor immediately put a stop to it, being no longer able to bear APPIUS's assuming temper; and fearing with-all that this Loan, should it be suffered to go on, would cause immediate destruction.

THIS extravagant step of APPIUS, and Stock beginning to fall, put an end to the rule and authority of that presumptuous man; who, in his ridiculous brags of the usefulness and great success of his Scheme, used to say, "that in any other nation but this, they would
"have

“ have given him a reward of 500000 l. for the “ service he had done to his country.” But as he had no hopes to have such a sum given him, he thought he might take all opportunities to reward himself. Nor was this the first time that he over-rated his services, and conceived a high opinion of his own merits ; for when this Corporation was first settled, he claimed no less a reward than the profits of the Transfers during life, for having had a hand in drawing the Bill for its establishment.

THE last Scene of this memorable transaction comes now under consideration : and oh that a veil could be drawn over it, and the memory of such a senseless resolution obliterated ! as that of voting a Dividend of no less than 50 l. per Cent. for no less than 12 years. The very words are childish and ridiculous. It cannot be believed that any one of the Directors thought it a judicious action : but the gaming part of the town being very fond of such a large Dividend for a number of years, the Court of Directors imprudently came into it, merely out of complaisance, and to keep up the Stock, till more solid measures could be taken. It must be owned without any subterfuge or evasion, that this was a great inadvertency and error of judgment in so many men : for the calculations laid before them, to induce them to come into this resolution were as absurd as the declaration it self. Those Inducements have been afterwards laid

before the Parliament, and therefore need not to be inserted here. But 'tis very apparent on the other hand, that they had no sinister end or selfish design in this silly vote, whatever construction has been put upon it to the contrary. And of this there needs no clearer proof, than that none of the Directors made any advantage of it, by disposing of Stock either then, or for a considerable time after, except APPIUS alone; who not content to have got an immense sum of money, by selling a vast quantity at high rates, had the cruelty to follow the Stock, still selling till he brought it down to 200. But the generality of the Directors were so infatuated with a high opinion of the Stock, that several of them bought of APPIUS; and the Court of Directors had amongst them, at the close of their unhappy management, above 200000 l. stock more than they used to have before the Scheme: another sure indication of their fair dealing, as well as of their prevention in favour of the Stock; and that many within doors, as well as without, were caught by the juggles and artifices of this cunning Projector. This is an ingenuous account of that matter, which is not so criminal as many have represented or imagin'd it: unless an easy compliance for the obtaining of a good end to the public, or an error and mistake of judgement, be unpardonable crimes. Of such faults the honestest men in the world may be guilty, and have often been so.

THAT

THAT the thread of the discourse might not be broken, the Writer hereof, who's not us'd to write any Books but in his Counting-house, having thought it necessary to postpone giving an account of some material occurrences in the sequel of this grand affair, takes an opportunity to relate them here. The way and manner of taking the two Subscriptions of the public Funds, was intirely left by the Court of Directors to APPIUS, or rather assum'd by him, who, as has been observ'd before, form'd and methodized it his own way, which gave little satisfaction; by reason of his introducing too much uncertainty, hurry, and confusion, which he did undoubtedly to serve his own ends: but he left the other Directors under great perplexities how to prevent dis-obliging those persons, who applied to them; and who could not believe, that it was so little in their power to serve their friends. But this is nothing in comparison of another point: for when it came to be consider'd, what should be allowed to the subscribers of the public Debts, there were long debates in the Court of Directors; especially relating to the Redeemables, whether they should have their option to take back their Subscriptions or stand to them, as was given to the Irredeemables, and to determine, what should be allowed them. There was much variety of opinions concerning this last particular, which finally centred in APPIUS's inclination of giving them

Stock at 800. But the option was still very much insisted upon in their behalf, several of the Court inclining to give it to them; but these were at last over-ruled, by APPIUS's stiff adhering to the other side of the question, so that it was carried against the option. This violent step, has not been one of the least causes of the sufferings of the unhappy Directors: for about sixteen thousand people, who were concerned in those funds, and were so unjustly dealt with, raised a clamour that could not be stifled, and which involved their best friends and fellow-sufferers of the Court of Directors, in one common ruin with those very men, who had acted the most strenuously against them.

ANOTHER piece of injustice, which gave much discontent to the Public, and occasioned a great deal of heart-burning against the Directors, was the keeping so long from the proprietors of the public funds, the Stock, to which they were intitled by the Subscriptions. The Directors were not unsensible of the clamours abroad, necessarily proceeding from these unreasonable delays: and they were satisfied, that the proportion of stock, due to each subscriber, might be entered to his account in fewer weeks, than the months which the juggler took for doing of it. Orders were therefore almost every Court-day sent to the chief Accomptant, to dispatch that work; and when he was free from the gout, he was sent for into the Court, where

where it was recommended to him in the most earnest manner. But all the uneasiness and pressing instances of the Court of Directors about this matter, were to little purpose. The Conjuror knew that he was supported by one, who had the conduct of the Scheme : and as they had laid their projects for selling a great deal of their own stock at a proper time, they thought it their interest to lock up as much stock of that of others, as they could ; to prevent its coming to market, when they should be ready for selling theirs. Thus were the innocent (I may say silly) Directors railed at, for the vile practices of two men : tho' it must be confest, that those, who were in power, should have exercised it more effectually in a case so necessary, and of the practicableness whereof they were so much convinced ; but whilst a man has authority in a society, 'tis the hardest matter in the world to carry any thing against him, if he will determinately oppose it. All bodies politic, and particularly mercantile Companies, may be safely appeal'd to for the truth of this observation.

AS APPIUS had laid the foundation of his projects in confusion, that he might the better fish in troubled waters ; so he had the malice to propose another mony-subscription, at a time, when the affairs of the Company were most-incumbred. He took the specious pretence of confining it to the proprietots of the stock, and that for their particular advantage (who
had

had not hitherto been distinguish'd from others) every one of them should have the liberty of subscribing 20 per Cent. in proportion to what stock he had, if he thought fit. The Court of Directors represented to him the impracticableness of such a Subscription, by reason that the subscribers of the Redeemable and Irredeemable Debts had not their proportion of stock ascertained, and entered to their account : and that it was unknown, who were the proprietors of the two last money-subscriptions, till receipts were delivered out. But APPIUS affirm'd, that he should find out ways to make it practicable ; and would needs have this Subscription agreed to, publish'd, and laid before the general Court, who applauded the project, and much more the contriver of it. Notwithstanding all this, APPIUS finding it afterwards impracticable to execute, he desisted ; and consented to have the general Court acquainted, that the Directors having better considered of it, they did not think it for the interest of the Company to proceed in that subscription at present. 'Tis no wonder that a man, who durst so palpably abuse a whole general Court, consisting of hundreds of proprietors, some of 'em of great power and quality, should be able to mislead or overrule a Court of Directors, wherein he likewise had some advice and intelligence.

ONE thing was most remarkable in this astonishing transaction of the S. S. S. APPIUS did

did never permit any body to make a motion in relation to it, but himself, during his five months reign ; nor any minute, relating thereto, to be entered in the Court-Book, but what he dictated. He visibly affected a prophetic stile, delivering his words with an emphasis and extraordinary vehemence : and us'd to put himself into a commanding posture, rebuking those that durst in the least oppose any thing he said, and endeavouring to inculcate, as if what he spoke was by impulse, uttering these and such like expressions : *Gentlemen, don't be dismayed : you must act with firmness, with resolution, with courage. I tell you, 'tis not a common matter you have before you. The greatest thing in the world is referred to you. All the mony of Europe will center amongst you. All the nations of the earth will bring you tribute.* But when the tide turn'd, when stock began to fall, and consequently, that his power was at an end ; then this poor man (forsooth) was but one in thirty one, as he was wont to express it himself. And indeed it was hardly safe for him to walk the streets, or even to come into the Court of Directors room : where he was daily reproached, reviled, and abused, for all the villanies he had contriv'd and committed, and the many impositions he had put upon them. In effect, he was two or three times soundly caned by some of the Directors, in the height of their passion.

TO

TO set the substance of what has been hitherto said in a nearer view, the better to make it understood, leave is begg'd, to make a short Recapitulation, whereby the innocent and the guilty may be easily discern'd.

THE contriving of the Scheme has been thought to be the original sin, from whence derived all the calamities that ensued. But herein the Directors were innocent: the authors of it were APPIUS, the Treasurer, and the Negromancer.

THE disposing of the fictitious stock, which raised so much clamour, was the work of the Cabinet Council: the rest of the Directors were intirely ignorant of it.

THE giving premiums for the Midsummer dividend, was deemed a wicked contrivance. APPIUS and the Negromancer were the only persons concern'd in that base design.

THE unaccountable way of taking the mony-subscriptions, and the increasing of the sums agreed upon by the Court of Directors, has been justly censured. This was concerted by the Cabinet Council, exclusive of the other Directors.

AS for the deficiency in the two last mony-subscriptions, the Treasurer took it wholly
upon

THE SOUTH-SEA SCHEME. 443

upon himself; and it did not appear that any of the Directors, or their particular friends, had any money returned to them. But as 'tis certain, that if the price of stock had kept up, there would have been no deficiency; so 'tis probable that most of this sum, which prov'd afterwards deficient, was kept under the Treasurer's thumb for the benefit of the Decemvirs: for 'tis not likely that he return'd it all, to those whom he favor'd or fear'd.

THE Loans, which, as they were managed, occasioned so much loss to the Company, were chiefly push'd on by APPIUS: he influenced the Cabinet Council to take the Loans out of the direction of the Committee of Treasury, and to put them intirely into the hands of the Cashiers. He first sent money to the Sword-blade to lend money upon subscriptions, and when he heard they did not lend enough to his mind, he took both the money and subscriptions out of their hands; and extorted an order of the Committee of Treasury, by bringing a sufficient number of the Cabinet Council to out-vote them, for lending it at his own rate upon the subscriptions.

IT was against the unanimous opinion of the Court of Directors, that APPIUS ordered a Loan to be made at 4 per Cent. And it was the same APPIUS, that directed the Loan of

the Exchequer-Bills, and of the great sum of money arising by the third Subscription.

LASTLY, contrary to the sentiments of the Cabinet Council and unknown to any others of the Directors, APPIUS obliged the Treasurer to issue, by way of Loan, his promissory Notes to deliver the Company's Bonds. And on all occasions he freely declared his opinion, without mincing the matter, that he was not for disposing of the Company's money to traders and such other fair dealers; but to those who frequented the Alley, and to Ladies and young Gentlemen, who came from the other end of the town, with a spirit of gaming: for such, according to him, were the most likely to advance the price of stock. To make it the more easy to them, he defeated the resolution of the Court of Directors and Committee of Treasury, for taking defeazances.

THE delays about placing the stock to account, proceeding from the redeemable and irredeemable Debts, was the sole contrivance of APPIUS and the chief Accomptant, and against the intention of all the other Directors.

THE buying of stock for the Company's account in order to support it, was contrived by APPIUS and the Cabinet Council; and it does not appear, that the Treasurer sold

THE SOUTH-SEA SCHEME. 447

any stock for any of the Directors, except those of that Council.

AS to the large Dividend for a number of years, none of the Directors were in their inclination for it, but came into it to please the town; which is own'd to have been an injudicious, tho a well-meaning step: and nothing can better demonstrate this, than that APPTUS was the only man amongst them, who made advantage of that odd declaration by selling of stock.

ONE thing more may be truly said, which perhaps is not known to many. It is this; that one of the Directors lost near 200000 l. by this fatal undertaking: and amongst the rest, including S..... and G..... there was about the sum of 803000 l. got.



THE



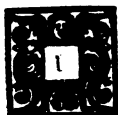
THE
S C H E M E,
OR
PRACTICAL MODEL,
OF A
NATIONAL BANK;

To be commenc'd and erected by political Art alone, going, not upon visionary Calculations, or private, mercenary, and temporary Views: but upon such stated Rules and easy methods, truly natural, public, and perpetual, as cannot fail effecting it; yet without any stock in Cash, Subscriptions of money, or collateral Security in Lands.

Written by a Gentleman, who died in the
Year 1708.

TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ***.

MY LORD,



Have had for a good while past lying by me, a manuscript Treatise little in bulk but big with matter. The Author, who was a very able master, gave me his Manuscript a little before his death. I trust your LORDSHIP with
it,

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it, but will not communicate it to any other person without a valuable consideration: for as they who are for setting up a Bank in Ireland propose their own as well as the public advantage; so I see no reason why I should not be suitably gratified, whether they may think fit to follow my whole plan (which I judge the only practicable one in that Kingdom, and the only honest and secure one in any other) or that they may only take proper hints, and accommodate such parts of it as they please to their own project.

I am

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble Servant,

VOL. I.

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THE

THE
S C H E M E,
OF A
NATIONAL BANK.

SECTION I.



National Bank is extremely different from all private Banks, such (for example) as is that in London; which, tho having the name of *England* tack'd to it, is built nevertheless on narrow foundations, acted by personal views, and so fram'd as naturally to create suspicion: for both the keeping and the disposal of the Cash is intrusted in the same hands under a private management, without any inspection, check, or controul from the supreme authority. Such a method can never be safe nor extensive: and the frequent Runs on the *Bank of England*, not to speak of other inconveniences to which it is perpetually subject, is a plain proof of its insufficiency. I have therefore, after no less study than experience in business of this nature, form'd a
brief

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brief and clear Scheme of a truly *National Bank* ; containing the means and methods whereby the same may be usher'd into the world, approv'd, and established : and this not only for the accommodation of Merchants, as the *Bank of Amsterdam* ; but likewise of all persons whatever, without any danger either to the Government or People. Yet I shall readily acknowledge, that there is nothing solid in what I have thus advanc'd in general, unless it undeniably appears in particular,

I. THAT as a *National Bank*, it is not only a great convenience, but also in other respects a great benefit to the people ; so that there is nothing in nature or art more easy, than to establish such a Bank, the Government being willing.

II. THAT this Bank may be commenc'd and set on foot (to the no small amazement, or rather disappointment of mercenary projectors and stock-jobbers) without either any stock in Cash, Subscriptions of money, or collateral Security in Lands.

III. THAT it shall notwithstanding be under a perpetual progression, without any stagnancy or decay ; whereby it may be capable of attaining to immense credit, on real not imaginary foundations.

IV. THAT it may be so constituted, as that every man shall at first sight perceive his security and advantage in it; and immediately trust it, without the least hesitation or doubt.

V. THAT such a Bank can never be precarious, or subject to any accident capable to destroy its credit, were all the money'd men in the Kingdom in combination against it.

VI. THAT it shall always be able to make prompt Payment at sight, and to answer the Capital at any time on demand: a thing ambiguous or deficient in all other Banks, one only excepted.

VII. THAT it shall neither give nor receive Interest, for money paid in or issu'd out (Loans to the Government excepted) and yet the profit of the Bank will be very considerable and great.

VIII. THAT shou'd the Proprietors, upon any sudden fright or consternation, draw out all their Cash in Bank, this cou'd not destroy or impair the credit of it; but that, like a living and inexhaustible spring, it wou'd flow out again, and flourish as before.

IX.

IX. THAT this Bank shall be proof against all the artful tricks, and little cunning of Stock-jobbers: the bane of Credit and common Honesty.

X. THAT, without any sinister devices to raise credit (which in the end is to ruin it) this Bank may more easily accommodate the Government with ten or twelve hundred thousand pounds at low interest, than the Bank of England with one hundred thousand pounds, upon any fund or funds settl'd for that purpose: and this without transgressing the stated rules of the Bank, or any impeachment to the managers thereof.

XI. THAT such a Bank will not only be of great service to the Nobility and Gentry, as will specially appear in the Plan of it; but must likewise defeat the corruptions and abuses of Stewards and Bailiffs, prevent many disputes in Law, keep the country from being su'd for Robberies, with several other particulars equally honorable and beneficial.

XII. THAT all this may be accomplish'd with small charge to the Government and Nation, and manag'd without a Governor or Court of Directors: and yet be under so exact a method and discipline, as to leave no umbrage for any indirect or unfair dealings in
Ff 3 the

the administration of the Bank, either as to the whole or any part of the same.

NOW, supposing the Plan, from which these effects result, to be no chimera, but as easy to practise as to conceive; then the great and happy consequences, which must needs attend so useful and excellent an establishment, will be obvious and plain to the meanest capacities: as, in general, the raising and advancing of the Kingdom to a degree of Plenty, Wealth, and Power, far superior to all preceding ages; and thereby rendring the subjects much more ready and capable to serve the Crown, upon any pressing or great emergency, not with airy riches but real effects. And indeed it is infinitely more reputable, as it is also more safe, for a Prince to be serv'd by all his people; than by any one party among them.

SECTION II.

TO begin then with laying the foundation of this noble Fabrick, the first and chief corner stone must be a clear and adequate idea of something, that is already no less facil in practice, than in credit universal; and yet will not in all nor in most respects be the same with the Bank we propose, which exceeds it on several accounts, but particularly as to security and accommodation.

NOW,

NOW, by this previous idea or first principle, the knowlege whereof is as agreeable as it is necessary, is meant the *Bank of Amsterdam* ; which open'd its books with bare walls, without any Cash at all, and consequently had not its rise and origine from Subscriptions of mony : but rather from a prudent and honest appointment of State, which, as we are going to see, naturally resulted into a Bank ; foreseen, tho not given out by the sagacious Inventors.

The Commencement of it was in the following manner.

I. A certain place or office was assign'd in a convenient part of the City, for the common receipt and payment of mony. 'Tis now in their famous Stadthouse, which owes much of its splendor to the credit of this institution.

II. THE Government order'd that all receipts and payments, exceeding three hundred Guilders (which make about thirty pounds Sterling) shou'd be there made : whereupon Books were provided, and Clerks daily attended at stated hours, to make due entry of all such receipts and payments.

III. THESE Books became an authentic record of all proceedings betwixt Parties of this kind,

kind, to the preventing of many uncertainties, wranglings, and suits at law; whereby their people were preserv'd in a free and uninterrupted intercourse of Trade and Commerce, both at home and abroad.

IV. THE Government further injoin'd, that all Bills of Exchange whatsoever, as well inland as foreign, shou'd be paid into this office, for the greater security of all parties in their mutual dealings: as likewise to prevent disappointments, frequently happening in payment of money intrusted in private hands, subject to many and great contingencies, either by absence or death, by insolvency or other evil practices.

V. IN the next place, the Magistrates and City were by Law made responsible, for the safe custody of all monies committed to their charge: and these were secured against all fraudulent and corrupt practices, from those employ'd by them; not only by sufficient sureties, but also by penal Laws rendring their wilful misbehavior capital.

HERE mark the consequences. The Merchants and Traders, to avoid the necessary trouble attending this affair; (as the frequent carrying of money to and from the said office, which took up much of their time) chose rather to lodge the same in that place, where it was in the Office-Book plac'd to the Proprietor's

tor's folio or account ; and so from time to time transferr'd by direction to the account of diverse persons, who likewise found it as safe and convenient to continue it where it was. Thus, for example, the sum of one hundred pounds was often pass'd over from one man's account to another a hundred times ; and consequently supply'd the place of ten thousand pounds, every one finding it more easy, convenient, and safe, to continue his Cash where it was, than to have it in his own keeping. In this manner was this office naturally and insensibly converted into a Bank,

SECTION III.

HAVING hitherto briefly, and as it were speculatively (tho' 'tis really a historical account) exhibited the materials, or rather the foundation and main pillars, that support and constitute this celebrated Bank ; I shall go on to the practical part, or present management of it ; both as I have summ'd up the same from my own long experience, and as I have collected it out of the Books of those, who have written on this Subject in their own country, where I have some time liv'd.

THIS Bank, as I said, is a general Cash-keeper, for which the City is responsible ; and where any persons may put in their Cash, and draw it out at their pleasure : every one
paying

paying ten Guilders at the opening of his account, and afterwards a Penny for each party or parcel that he draws out. This way is very expeditious and convenient for Negotiants, who pay and receive their debts by Bills; their money being surer than in their own Coffers, and above all hazards, because the City is their Security.

FOR this very reason, it is, that the Bank money, or Bank-bill, is always better than running Cash; the difference being (1) now of about six per Cent. which is call'd the *Agio* of the Bank.

SUCH as have money to put into Bank, may do it of one of these three things. 1. Ordinary species. 2. Ducatons at three florins a piece. 3. Bars of Gold and Silver at their highest rate. If they have a mind to draw their Ducatons back in six months after, they shall have them again, paying about fifteen pence per each hundred pounds Sterling for keeping: and if their money is in ordinary species, the Cash-keeper gives a receipt according to the value in Bank; or else they must seek upon Change some Negotiant that wants running Cash, and who will write them the parcel they want, somewhat cheaper than the Cash-keeper.

(1) In 1707.

HE that, having Mony in Bank, has a mind to pay some parcel of it, must carry his Note himself; or pass a Letter of Attorney before the Book-keeper of the Bank, to him of whom he pretends to make use, or else the Party will not be written.

Thus the Note is to be :

1124. *Messieurs the Commissioners of
the Bank will pay to N. N. } G.
the Sum of five hundred Gil- } 500
ders : at Amsterdam, the
day of 1707.
Z. Z.*

The folio 1124, at the head of the Note, is the folio of the Ledger, where the account of the party is.

THE Notes are receiv'd in the Bank every day that it is open, from seven till eleven in the morning : and if one that has a Note be necessitated to carry it that very day, he may go in the afternoon ; for, on paying sixpence, he'll be receiv'd.

THERE is no Party receiv'd in Bank under three hundred florins, without paying sixpence, unless it be for the East and West-India Companies.

HE

HE that has written a sum in Bank, cannot transfer it but two days after his account is open'd : and he must go to the Bank to inquire if his account be written, or he forfeits three per Cent, for what he writes.

WHEN you go to inquire if your Party is written, you must go before eight : from eight to nine you must pay two pence, and from nine to three in the afternoon you pay six pence.

THE Book-keeper sends every morning to those that desire it, a Note of the parties carry'd to their account the day before : and this intelligence, very serviceable to great dealers, is regularly perform'd for about fifty shillings a year.

IF you write to any man more than you have in Bank, you forfeit three per Cent. of what you have written.

THE Commissioners of the Bank balance their Accounts twice a year, viz. in January and in July. Such as have their accounts open, are oblig'd to go in Person, or to send their Letter of Attorney, to declare what they pretend to be their due : and if it agrees with the Bank, they are told in what folio their balance is transferr'd ; but if what they pretend does not agree with the Book of the Bank, they

they are oblig'd to furnish an account of parcels, that the Commissioners may find the error.

Nota bene, That if you do not go in January and in July to adjust your Accounts, you forfeit twenty florins.

SECTION IV.

TH O the Bank of Amsterdam has deservedly the pre-eminence of the rest, there are several other Banks settled in most of the cities and chief towns of that country, for the peculiar service of the people inhabiting each Province: and there are Cantores besides, where the public mony collected in each Province, is lodg'd; and appropriated for the payment of such mony, Principal and Interest, as is lent to the State. For this the Treasurer gives his bond, and pays off the Interest from time to time, as the same grows due; half-yearly if demanded, and without the least delay, or any other order than his own: the same being enter'd in his book, and endors'd on the Bond; where he only inserts the month and year, which is all he has to vouch for what he pays. This whole matter the Treasurers perform with the greatest ease and address imaginable, no man being oblig'd to any attendance, or to come twice, observing the limited times of the Office.

SUCH as have credit in the said Cantores, may have Bills to receive their mony at Utrecht, Leyden, Rotterdam, or any other part of the Country : but 'tis certain that for all this, those Cantores are subject to disrepute and discredit, arising from the imperfection of their frame ; while the *Bank of Amsterdam* is inviolable, and permanent as the City wherein it stands.

THE Rules we have mention'd to be observ'd for the orderly keeping of accounts, may be very proper for such as inhabit together in the same City or narrow district ; but in those countries where the people live scatter'd, and great towns are remote, there the persons concern'd cannot so easily keep to the days and hours usual at Amsterdam : and therefore the Market-days are the fittest times to appoint for such purposes, because the people will of course resort to the respective Market-towns on those days, whether to buy and sell, or to transact their other mutual affairs.

THE foregoing Rules, so far as they can be made practicable in other nations, being the only real materials, whereby to lay the foundation of a *National Bank*, it is necessary that the same be observ'd in each of the Cities and considerable Towns incorporate of any Country, where a Bank is to be establish'd ; and in such distances of place, and distinction of
towns,

towns, as shall be judg'd most conducive to the end propos'd : for nothing is to be in our System so precarious as the Cantores in Holland, tho we design all things shall be as expeditious, manifest, and exact.

THIS will inevitably erect so many Banks, subservient to each other, and subordinate (tho not subject) to that of the same nature in the Capital : this will be a banking really *national*, which can only be nominally said of that call'd the *Bank of England* : and, what is more, all this may be accomplish'd in any of these great nations, as well as in little Holland, without any such collateral security as Lands, or such other things made over in trust. Finally, the matter of such a Bank depends so wholly on the frame, and the model of it is so order'd and constituted ; that it can never be in the power of the few that manage, having interest, to discredit or hurt it : nor be the interest of the many, having power (as the Government and People) to disturb or destroy it. Indeed the security of all things consists not in the materials, but in the form : and if the form or tree of Government be good, the fruit thereof will likewise be good.

ALL these things being premis'd, let's now come to the practical Model of such a Bank in this Kingdom of England, and which may serve as well for Scotland or Ireland.

SECTION V.

OUR labor in this part will be the shorter, in that it will be like the Conclusion of a Demonstration; where all the axioms, definitions, postulates, propositions, and other members of the premisses, are clear and undeniable. The difference of ours from the Dutch Banks, will be perceiv'd at first sight wherever it occurs, and the accommodation of each to the other no less perspicuous.

TO begin therefore, there are already establish'd Chambers in each City and incorporate Town of this Kingdom, with a general Cashier or Treasurer, commonly call'd the Chamberlain of the place; annually chosen, and intrusted by the people, with the receipts and issues of their public Income: but under the whole care, inspection, and direction of the Magistrates, viz. the Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the Corporation; or by whatever other name the chief Magistrate may be call'd, as Sovereign, Portreeve, Bailiff, or any other of the like import, which I understand also of the Chamberlain. This Cashier can issue no money without their order, which he carefully keeps to vouch his accounts, when the same are audited and brought to balance; which is commonly done once a year, and ought in good economy to be twice. Being chosen by the

A NATIONAL BANK! 463

the People to his great Trust, they are (as in law and equity they ought to be) made answerable for his Mal-administration; and they take care that the Security given be sufficient to solve or indemnify them. Wherefore these are the places most proper for the design'd purpose of erecting Banks: and thus the clock is made to our hands, while there remains but to hang on the weights, and then the wheels will be set in motion.

I. IT should therefore be ordain'd by Parliament, that the Chambers of the respective Cities, and those incorporate Towns judg'd most convenient, be the common places allow'd by Law, for the general receipts and payments of money.

II. THAT the receipts and payment of all sums above twenty pounds be there made; the expedition, safety, ease of mind, good husbandry, and other advantages arising from which regulations, will abundantly appear in the next Section after this.

III. THAT all monies due upon bonds, obligatory bills, or bills of Exchange whether inland or foreign, be paid into these Chambers; and that the respective Chamberlains be the General Cashiers, Receivers, or Treasurers, intrusted with the custody of all Cash from time to time paid in: but left

free to the sole disposal of every proprietor, to carry off, or to place to his proper folio or account, or to transfer to the account of any other.

IV. THAT for this purpose Books be provided, and Clerks (under good security) be appointed to attend daily at stated hours; to take and keep an exact Account and authentick Register of all transfers, receipts, and payments.

V. THAT the Mayor or chief Magistrate, and such two or more of the senior Aldermen for the time being (as shall be directed by Parliament) be the Commissioners, intrusted with the inspection and care of the Bank; who are to have each of them a key to the Cash-room, under the restrictions in such cases ordinarily provided, and to be always present at the opening and shutting in of the Bank.

VI. THAT the People and Magistracy of the place, annually chusing their said Chamberlain to this important Charge, be answerable by Law for his faithful discharge of the same, and consequently be Guarantees for the Bank. This is no more a hardship on the Corporation, than formerly on the Counties; which were responsible to the Crown in the Exchequer, for the Sheriffs intrusted with

with the general receipts of the several Counties, when they were annually chosen by the People: which method is therefore the more recommendable, in that it is most agreeable to the antient custom and constitution of our English Government; as such security provided in the Cities and incorporated Towns, will give these Banks so great a credit and reputation, that no room for any scruple or suspicion can be left in the minds of the People.

VII. LASTLY, that for the greater security of all persons, depositing their mony in these Banks, the management thereof be under the strictest Discipline, corroborated by Parliament with suitable penal Laws, rendring all corrupt and fraudulent practices equally punishable with crimes of the highest nature, as in cases of Treason and Felony without Clergy.

AFTER what has been so minutely related in the management of the *Bank of Amsterdam* (whose model is copy'd by all the inferior Banks, tho to their misfortune not by the Cantores) there is no need of particularizing the manner of entring, transferring, drawing out, remitting, and the like; nor yet of specifying the respective fees, mulcts, or other emoluments and perquisites, accruing

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ing on diverse occasions to the Bank : since all such things *mutatis mutandis*, and regard had to the different circumstances of time or customs of countries, will be easily collected, adjusted, and settled, by those who are capable to form and go on with this Undertaking ; which, next to God's providence, is the highest blessing that can ever happen to any trading or opulent nation.

SECTION VI.

IN this whole affair as there is nothing hard of conception, so every thing is easy in practice ; and nothing wanting, but inclination and authority to effect it. Custom, back'd by other prejudices, will at first oppose such an Institution, no less than the interest that is sure to be made against it, by such as have only views of their own ; tho, by the way, a vastly greater number of persons will be employ'd by this Bank, than possibly can be by any Joint-stock or mercantile Bank in the world. Nor ought it to be forgot, that nevertheless many offices are thereby sav'd to the Crown, and much vexation to the People : not to speak distinctly of a thousand advantages to the King and People, which every man of penetration will readily discover before-

beforehand, and which daily occurrences will suggest to the dullest.

IT is not the least of these advantages, that the publick Taxes, and other Duties gather'd in the several Counties, may by the Collectors be paid into these Banks, whence they will be easily remov'd into the Exchequer: for which reason the Banks are very proper to be appointed his Majesty's General Receivers in every County; which will prove exceeding beneficial, in preventing Losses both to the Sovereign and the Subject.

THE Nobility also and the Gentry, lodging their Cash and Rents in these places, may receive the same in any part of his Majesty's dominions, allowing the usual premium for the Exchange: and indeed under this settlement those Rents will naturally fall into the Banks, and must in the whole amount to many thousands of pounds for their support.

THIS is plain, that these Remittances will be made without any hazard, because no Bills of Exchange are by the Rules of the Bank to be granted in any place, unless the Money be first paid in: so that this may be done to great profit, without the use of any man's Cash, whereby the Capital Stock may be al-

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ways kept whole and entire; and, were it ten millions, ready to answer on demand.

IT will be objected, that part of the Stock will sometimes be necessarily drawn out; and I answer this objection by granting it, but with a due explication: for tho, by the mutual returns of Money, some part of the Stock may be drawn out of one place; yet the same being made good in another, is within call and in the nation still, as much as Cash remov'd out of one room into another, is in the same house.

WHEREFORE this Bank can have no occasion to borrow, nor must it lend upon any pretence whatsoever. Nevertheless, the Crown may be supply'd at any time, on borrowing Clauses and settled Funds, by the Proprietors writing off in the respective Banks in each County (due notice being previously given in the Gazette) upon such encouragement as the Parliament shall allow: and which will as easily be answer'd, when the said Taxes are gather'd and brought in; and all this without any transgression or impeachment, either of the management or the managers,

THIS provision alone ought to recommend the present Undertaking, preferably to
all

all others, both to the King and to the People: for as the King is sure to get as much money as the Parliament allows, without those delays and deficiencies which too often happen; so the People will be able more equally to improve their money on such publick securities; whereas this opportunity is now confin'd almost to the Citizens of London and Parliament-men, and even among them commonly to such only, as will buy or earn favor.

IT were needless to talk of the Remittances of Cloathiers, Grasiers, or any other kind of dealers: since he, who is not able to make such conclusions to himself; does but lose his labor, in reading any part of this Scheme at all.

SECTION VII.

THUS, in as few words and propositions as could well be used, is the frame and practice of a truly *National Bank* made so plain and intelligible: that whatever else, not express'd, shall be deem'd useful or necessary; may with small application, by persons vers'd in affairs of

this nature, be fully deduc'd and properly apply'd.

AND whereas it may be objected, that the *Bank of England* is not only establish'd by Act of Parliament, but likewise by the same Law to have no rival, (the Parliament having declar'd their resolution to establish no other Bank, or Undertaking in the nature of a Bank, during the continuance of it) I answer first, that this regards England only, and but for a limited time: secondly, that our intended Bank may be set up, when, by the expiration of the set time, the imperfection or mismanagement of the *Bank of England* shall make people long for a better: and I answer thirdly, that, if people were wise, they need not stay half so long.

THE reason is obvious: for the propos'd *National Bank* is of a quite different nature from the *Bank of England*, as well in the end as the means; and therefore will not interfere or rival it, either in point of Power or Profit. Now these being the two essentials intended by the Clause of enacting no other Bank, and the essentials not being hurt by the propos'd Undertaking; it is humbly conceiv'd to be most evident, that the Parliament may justly establish such a *National Bank*: for the intention of the Law, and of those

those in whose favor it was made, being satisfy'd; the letter of it neither can nor ought to hinder the Legislative Power, from encouraging by their sanction such an Establishment as the present, should it be found to be for the common good of the realm.

TO make good my assertion, that the end is no more the same, than the means, in the *Bank of England* and this Undertaking, it must be observ'd: that one grand difference between the propos'd *National Bank* and the *Bank of England*, is (as was laid down at the beginning) that the *Bank of England* has both the custody and the disposal of other men's Cash; whereas the propos'd *National Bank* is to have only the custody, but not the disposal, which will make the Proprietors always safe and easy. Another no less essential difference is, that the *National Bank* is neither to borrow nor to lend any money, but is to subsist only by the advantages resulting from returns, transfers, and the like: for these will be sufficient to support its honour and safety, without ingaging in any secret indirect negotiations or mysterious Politicks; which, however tempting they may be, are always dangerous, and may at last prove fatal (as it has frequently happen'd in other respects) both to the *Bank of England* itself, and to all concern'd with it. Wherefore if the Law
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provides, that neither of the Banks shall break in upon the other in these essentials; then their several Powers and Profits can never interfere, which is a full answer to the whole force of the Objection.

The End of the First Volume.





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